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The Educational Record

January 1938

CLARENCE STEPHEN MARSH, *Editor*

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The Educational Record

January 1938

The Junior College*

By ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

THE junior college is here to stay. It gained great impetus during the depression. But if and when the depression ends the junior college will continue to flourish because of the advance of technology, the attitude of capital and labor, and the aspirations of our people. There were 529 junior colleges in the country a month ago. There are probably a dozen more by now.

With notable exceptions the junior college has so far done only a negative job. It has kept young people from going places and doing things that would have been worse for them. It has supplied an institution where they could pass the time in relatively harmless pursuits until they could go to work. When boys and girls cannot get jobs and cannot afford to go away to college, the junior college is indispensable.

But housing, however excellent, is not a wholly adequate educational ideal; and the junior college has not yet achieved any other. Its organization and its course of study prevent it from making the great contribution for which its founders hoped and which I believe it is yet destined to make. From the standpoint of my university, at least, this is a serious matter. Thirty per cent of the new students entering Chicago

* Read before the Association of American Universities, Providence, R. I., November 12, 1937.

this fall are graduates of junior colleges. This proportion will increase, not only in my university, but also in yours. In the fifteen years from 1919 to 1934 the number of freshmen in public junior colleges alone in the North Central territory increased 837 per cent. In the first nine years of the period, this development did not prevent the increase of the number of freshmen in the universities in the area. But in the last six years the enrollment of freshmen in the universities went off 22 per cent. At the same time that these things were happening, the number of bachelor's degrees conferred by the colleges in the territory was increasing 118 per cent. But the number of these degrees conferred by the universities was increasing 265 per cent, or more than twice as fast. Though freshmen in the universities declined drastically, bachelor's degrees conferred by the universities increased sensationally. We may expect these trends to continue until our freshmen are almost all local students and a very large proportion of our total student body are graduates of junior colleges.

As the junior colleges increase in number and develop a good organization and curriculum there will be less and less justification for the maintenance of the freshmen and sophomore years in universities. There are now three public junior colleges in the city of Chicago. The only reasons for running a junior college at the University of Chicago are (1) that many of our students now come from a distance, and (2) that the organization and curriculum of the public junior colleges are relatively inferior. As junior colleges are established about the country the number of our freshmen and sophomores living at a distance will decline; and we cannot assume that the organization and curriculum of these institutions will always remain inferior. The principal justification for operating a junior college in a university today is the desirability of providing a model or a horrible example for the independent junior colleges now struggling to discover what they should do.

Those who began the junior college movement had a clear idea of the place of the institution in the educational scheme.

It was to be a part of the secondary school system. It was to be the American gymnasium. But it was not to be a two-year unit any more than the gymnasium, or the lycee, or the English public school were two-year units. President Harper of the University of Chicago arranged to have the Morgan Park Academy, then part of the University, do the full work of the freshman and sophomore years. But he did not think of those years as existing in splendid insulation at the Academy. He thought of them as absorbed into the Academy, as part of the secondary school system. President Folwell's junior college at the University of Minnesota was definitely a part of the secondary school system. In Mr. Folwell's own words, he "threw the usual work of freshmen and sophomores out of the proper University courses, and merged it into the old preparatory department. . . ."

The attitude of the standardizing agencies, which now shows some signs of change, has done much to prevent the amalgamation of the junior college and the secondary schools. Although 85 per cent of the public junior colleges are in high school buildings, they customarily have separate administrations, because of the regulations of the educational associations. The high schools and the junior colleges suffer from mutual insulation. The overlapping of collegiate and high school work is as flagrant in these junior colleges as it is in our own universities. The advantages that unification could bring have not been attained because there has been no real unification.

At the same time the junior high school has grown up and in some places has taken over the first two years of the high school as we used to know it. In these places the last two years of the high school and the two years of the junior college are left floating in the air, with no ties above or below.

The junior college has also added to the confusion of universities and colleges of liberal arts. After a two-year junior college we have a two-year unit leading to the bachelor's degree. At Chicago 64 per cent of the students receiving that degree in June began their college work elsewhere. In general

they have studied with us for two years. The figures on bachelor's degrees in the North Central territory that I have already cited show that this situation obtains throughout the area.

Two-year educational units do not exist anywhere else in the world. And I am inclined to think that we cannot congratulate ourselves on our originality. One of the numerous curses of education is the duplication that occurs in passing from one unit to another. The shorter the period the more frequent is the opportunity for such duplication, and we have the habit of making the most of each opportunity. Moreover, the difficulty of framing an intelligible course of study when half your students leave you every year is very great. We do not need more superficial education in the United States. We have plenty of it already. The multiplicity of two-year units must promote superficiality; for you must make up for all the defects of what has gone before and prepare for what is to come and at the same time teach whatever you think you should be teaching, all in two years. One of our most baffling problems at Chicago results directly from the junior college. It is how to develop any satisfactory program of study leading to the bachelor's degree.

At present, then, the junior college is a foreign body in the educational system, contributing to the disorganization of the high school, the college, and the university. Yet it is here to stay, and the educational system can be reorganized so as to realize the benign potentialities of the junior college. This reorganization, though far reaching, is neither difficult nor complicated, and it must be undertaken.

A six-year elementary school, a three- or four-year high school, and a three- or four-year college could and in some places do constitute an intelligible primary and secondary school system. Some nine programs of this sort are now operating, and where the connection between the high school and the college is close enough they are operating successfully. Difficulties arise in the case of private institutions which do not have large high schools under their control. They are not

always able to secure enough students in the first year of the four-year college to make a coherent program for the whole four years. This has handicapped Stephens College, Missouri, and the University of Chicago. The California experiments, which have been conducted in public institutions, have encountered no such obstacle. I believe that as this type of college becomes better known this obstacle will be overcome. Local parents, at least, should sooner or later get used to the idea of sending their children two years earlier to the University of Chicago. If they should prove recalcitrant, I should favor the abolition of our entire junior college program at Chicago. It is not in the public interest for the University of Chicago to operate a two-year junior college indefinitely. You will understand that in making this remark, as in everything else I have to say, I am speaking only for myself and am not undertaking to represent the attitude of the faculty or trustees of my University.

The reorganization I have suggested eliminates the two-year units in the high school and the junior college. Something more needs to be done to give the present colleges of liberal arts and the universities scope for education after the junior college. This I think can best be accomplished by organizing three-year programs of study beginning with the junior year. The mass of the population should end their formal education with the junior college. Only those interested in and qualified for advanced work should be permitted to proceed beyond the sophomore year. We should then begin true university work at the same point at which it is begun in England and continue it, for those students who do not plan to become scholars, for the same period. We should be able to bring the methods and atmosphere of graduate work down to the beginning of the junior year.

Many departments at Chicago now plan their programs for three years' study to the master's degree, indicating to the student that he can drop off at the end of two years with the bachelor's if he wants to. The departments have had diffi-

culty in doing an adequate job in two years; they think they can approximate one in three.

All this would be much simplified if we were prepared to face the degree problem resolutely. We like to say that degrees are not important. If they are not, one reason may be that none of the degrees we offer means anything much today. The B.A. means four years in college. The M.A. means one year more. If the subject announced for this discussion did not prevent me and if you didn't know it already, I would tell you what the Ph.D. amounts to.

Even if degrees are not important to us who have so many that we are disillusioned about them, we know that they are important to our students. We cannot make them less important by saying that they do not signify. They do signify. And since they do, we should try to use them to clarify the educational situation instead of permitting them to add to its confusion. The bachelor's degree, like the baccalaureat in France, could be awarded at the end of the junior college and could indicate the completion of a general education. The master's degree could be awarded after three years of advanced study and could indicate the completion of a university education, not such an education as required scholarly ability or capacity in research, but an education calling for independent intellectual effort in a broad field of knowledge. Such an education, incidentally, ought to qualify the graduate for a teaching position in which research was not needed or demanded.

There is nothing new about this suggestion. President Butler of Columbia stated the case for it in a way that cannot be improved upon thirty-five years ago. The whole trend of education since has confirmed his view. The rise of the junior college makes action in these terms more and more urgent. This arrangement of degrees would help along the reorganization I have described, under which general education for everybody would come to a close with the junior college, and university work would begin, for those qualified to engage in it, with the junior year. This reorganization cannot be as successful as it should be unless students who should leave at

the end of the junior college can be induced to do so. I do not believe that they can be induced to do so unless some recognizable and popular insignia can be conferred upon them at that stage. The bachelor's degree meets these requirements; and since it serves no useful purpose at present it may well be devoted to the useful purpose of assisting out of education those who should no longer remain in it.

One more useful purpose might be served by the award of the bachelor's degree at the end of the junior college. The junior colleges are disturbed by their anomalous position. Nobody likes to be anomalous. In the effort to acquire a recognized place in the educational scheme the junior colleges will tend to become four-year colleges of liberal arts after the present pattern. Some of them have already done so. We cannot view this development with equanimity, for it will add to the number of poor liberal arts colleges we already have. Work beginning with the junior year is too expensive and complicated for many of our junior colleges to attempt it with much hope of success. The way to discourage such a movement is to provide the junior college with a place in the educational system that it is qualified to fill.

With a recognized place that it is qualified to fill the junior college can proceed to the great questions that it has not yet been free to face, questions of its purposes and its course of study. What the educational world needs most is an intelligent and defensible program of general education. Though the universities can assist in the development of this curriculum, they cannot dominate it. It must be produced and managed by the junior college. This enterprise is so important that the junior college must be put in a position to undertake it, and it must receive, as it goes to work upon it, the support and cooperation of us all.

The Professor and Public Service*

By LINDSAY ROGERS

WITH the permission of your chairman I have chosen to discuss a problem which falls squarely within your subject for this session, although it is not listed in the four subheadings that your preliminary program enumerated. Your general subject is "Problems Arising from the Relationships of Educational Institutions to the Government." As a professor in a field which loosely, and I think unhappily, is described as that of the social sciences, I am naturally interested in the problems that arise when university professors work for the government—when they participate in politics or in public administration.

My emphasis is suggested not only because of my own interests — academic and non-academic — but because I am here as a representative of an institution whose professorial staff, over a long period of years, has had as many direct contacts with public affairs — international, national, state, and municipal—as has the staff of any other American university. King's College had its quota of the founding fathers and Columbia College has turned out some graduates who later held public office, but in recent years Columbia University's more distinctive contribution has been in loaning members of its teaching staff for temporary services which have been specialized and until lately have not been much publicized. When our loans to national politics came to be somewhat spectacular, I perpetrated the atrocious pun that Columbia was the germ of the notion. Later, in 1933, President Roosevelt had his "brain trust" which was described by the Paris *Temps* as being headed by *"le conseiller economique du President, le professeur Moley-Tugwell."* At the moment, Columbia professors are not so much in the public eye, but they are still in

* An address before the Association of American Universities, Providence, R. I., November 12, 1937.

various forms of public service. Fifty of my colleagues at Columbia have seats on the faculty of political science. I went over the list the other day, and during the past year twenty of them have performed public tasks of widely differing importance in Paris, Geneva, Washington, Albany, and New York City. Other schools of the university contribute their quotas. To what problems does such public service give rise?

Some of them are administrative and it would be presumptuous of me who am not an administrator to attempt to suggest positive answers. On the professorial side of the fence there is naturally a desire that the university adopt a generous policy of permitting and even of applauding and rewarding public service. But sometimes there are questions as to whether, in the familiar phrase, men can be spared; as to whether leaves of absence, if granted, can be extended. Here, I think, the guild of professors has the right to expect tolerance, and the more so because no similar problem confronts academic administrators. Without attaining the emoluments and prestige which are perquisites of the presidents, the deans seem to have given up the leisure which was theirs when they were professors. For the deans, housekeeping duties are so demanding that few of them can consider extra-domal work for governments.

Nor does any such problem confront the presidents. Their eminence is such that they can be lured only to tasks that are unquestionably honorific. Their presidential posts are pulpits from which they can speak as statesmen without portfolios. They can seek national audiences when they pronounce authoritatively on public questions. When Mr. Baldwin reshuffled the British Cabinet two years ago he included a minister without portfolio—Lord Eustace Percy—whom the newspapers facetiously described as Mr. Baldwin's "minister of thought." The Cabinet, it was suggested, had put out its thinking as one puts out washing. Descartes' famous saying, *"cogito ergo sum,"* could have been Lord Eustace Percy's motto. It is the motto of some American university presidents. In the popular mind at least, the presidential pulpit is taken as endowing its

occupant with something approaching omniscience. This kind of public service—occasional instruction with the nation as the classroom—does not require absence from the university. It raises none of the administrative difficulties which are said to exist when professors ask relief from academic duties to perform duties of a more practical sort.

Certain of our colleges may have to think exclusively in terms of successive generations of students and what can be done for them. If so, they may properly decline to recognize any larger responsibility. For such institutions a loan of a professor to what is called public service may be thought justified only by the returns that may come from the resulting advertisement, and these may be exiguous. State-supported institutions must be ever mindful of the taxpayers from whom they draw sustenance. If prevailing national policies clash with the opinions of those who direct state policies, the state universities may have to look askance at lending their men to the national government. Such a negative choice may be essential to escape adventitious embroilment. But the great university has different schools and ancient endowments no longer devoted to original purposes which may have become inappropriate. It is true, as President Conant said last night, that there is what the lawyers call the doctrine of cy-pres. But also, within the limits of Lord Derby's dictum, even though purposes are adhered to, it is possible to do something about the means.

Universities with these ancient endowments seem to me to have a duty that goes a little further than service to the group of students who, at a given moment, happen to be within its academic gates. American universities give increasing financial recognition of their duties to scholarship as well as to teaching. They should, I submit, frequently grant that they have a further duty which must be met even at the cost of curricular adjustments and substitutions. Certain questions are appropriate: Is the work important? Could it be done just as well by others? Will the man return to the university with an enrichment of his experience that will show in his teaching or

in his writing? Affirmative answers need not preclude later negative answers. In some cases, of course, professors may be more useful to their universities away from them than they are when in residence. These are some of the considerations that should go into the scales, but estimation of where the balance stops will vary with the estimators.

In thus arguing for a generous policy by university administrators, I am reserving the real problem for settlement by the men immediately concerned. I am not sure that as yet we have faced these problems squarely. On the one hand, it seems to me clear that a rule which barred professors of social science from entering the market places of politics and public administration would be in effect a sterilization statute. The professors would become eunuchs guarding harems containing wax figures of economic doctrine and governmental theory. On the other hand, the enjoyment of the pleasures of the market place is not without risk. We too frequently ignore the fact that we professors are a privileged class. Like judges and civil servants we have security of tenure. There are, so far as I know, no academic Renos where divorces may be secured on grounds of incompatibility or mental cruelty. Like civil servants and judges, shall we be expected to eschew sharing in the strategy of party controversy or participating in administering policies that arouse political passions? It used to be said that we had to take the monastic vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty, but in later years, at least, some exceptions have been possible. The unchastity must not be public. The disobedience, if individual, may be penalized. If collective, it may, and properly so, compel administrators or trustees to pause; but we professors are sometimes timid souls and collective action is rare. A sit-down strike is still in the future. Our poverty is not absolute but relative. Shall there be now another vow—of political neutrality? I should say no, but where shall the line be drawn?

Of course the neutrality of both civil servants and judges is highly illusory. The civil servant has his biases, but he must keep them secret save from his superior. If he is forced to

act contrary to his own views that is part of the game since the theory is that the expert civil servant is able to serve any party with equal fidelity and equal contempt. There is rarely a question concerning the location of the point at which intellectual integrity requires open disagreement or resignation. Before that point is reached civil servants and their political superiors usually effect some compromise which is tolerable to each of them. Judicial neutrality is also a myth. The wearers of the robe may not participate in party controversy, but they take sides within the limits of the cases that come up for decision.

Here there are no analogies that may be helpful. Universities do not accept dictation from those who give them money. A university worthy of the name will refuse to be intimidated by politicians or newspapers, even though in such refusal it takes great risks. Is a university which has these standards, which exists to teach and to discover truth, and which gives its men security of tenure unreasonable in asking that, as a return, its men shall not plunge themselves and it into the maelstrom of political controversy? Well, all of us applaud the brave men who in Germany and Italy have refused to remain silent and who, speaking the truth as they saw it, have lost their posts. Intellectual integrity forced these men into political controversy. In the democracies, as yet, politics is not so unpleasant a game; it is not yet a testing of souls. Our maelstrom of political controversy is neither communist nor fascist; it does not destroy but whirls and gives up. How permanently dizzy are the professors that pass through it? How much of their balance is lost? These, it seems to me, are the crucial issues.

Professors are citizens and manifestly must be permitted to perform the functions that such a status invites. Civil servants vote, but further political activity is discouraged. That can hardly be the rule for the economist or the student of government. If in his writings he deals with the present, he cannot avoid favoring one policy as against another, some statesmen as against their critics. Even if he pretends only

to present data and to draw no conclusions therefrom, he will inevitably make out a case. Hence it seems to me mere juggling with words to argue that the social scientist qua scientist must avoid expressing political judgments. He cannot help doing so if he goes beyond facts that are so unimportant that they do not need to be completed by their meanings. Even the fact that John L. Lewis is 57 years of age may be stated in such a context as to suggest his availability or non-availability as a candidate for the presidency of the United States.

Open advocacy of a policy or a party must, of course, be permitted the professor, but should he advocate only as a citizen? Assistance to the party in the formulation of a program? Here the citizen, because he has special competence, begins to be more useful than other citizens. Shall he prepare data which can be used by other party advocates? Shall he ghost write for candidates? Shall he participate in a kitchen cabinet which, in the public mind and even by university colleagues, may be thought privy to all important decisions and giving advice before those decisions are actually made? Is there a difference if such culinary participation is not in person but only over the telephone? When should the university professor let his fellow social scientists know that he disagrees with certain decisions? How great must the disagreement be before he lets the public know his position? To these questions, also, I hesitate to suggest definite answers.

There are other forms of public service after the heat of controversy has cooled; and because the federal government has an insufficient number of expert civil servants comparable to those in Great Britain's administrative class, every national crisis sees a descent of professors on Washington. This was the case during the war. It was more spectacularly the case in 1933. The professors were sought out because of supposed special capacities and because they had no economic ties which disqualified them from holding certain posts. Are there dangers that the professor faces when he is confining himself to administrative tasks? A labor relations act has been passed —hurriedly and in imperfect form because under our frame-

work of government pressures can only roughhew and there is insufficient machinery of draftsmanship to finish and polish. Should a professor of economics decline to administer the act because he thinks it one-sided and in need of drastic amendment or supplementing to prevent it from harming those whom it was designed to protect? Should he comfort himself by saying that anyone else would do a worse job? Should he do it only if it is known (to his fellow social scientists, or ought it to be also to the public) that he regrets the policy and hopes for its change?

While he is operating within limits which political decisions have fixed for him, should he avoid speaking as an economist, in print or to students on the problems with which he is dealing? If as an administrator he must speak on these problems either in specific decisions of the board or, say at an American Federation of Labor Convention or a convention of the Committee on Industrial Organization, by what standards should his colleagues judge his remarks on such occasions? To these questions also, I do not know the answers. I do not think that they can be given by mandates from university governing authorities. I believe that the answers must be worked out by the professors and I fear that we have not yet begun to put the questions to ourselves as seriously as they should be put.

"We professors"! That title has not been closely held. There are professors of cooking and dancing and boxing. Most of you, who have been professors, and I, who am one now, have sometimes winced, internally, at least, when we are called "professor." The danger is that some of us, rendering certain kinds of so-called public service, will bring our title into further disrepute. Bernard Shaw once said that we constitute a third sex. He also suggested that those who can, do, and that those who cannot, teach. Was Nietzsche exaggerating when he declared: "To scholars who become politicians the comic role is easily assigned; they have to be the good conscience of a state policy." I wonder whom F. S. Oliver had in

mind when, in his most interesting recent posthumous volume, *The Endless Adventure,* he wrote as follows:

> There are, however, others of this fraternity—*Professors* and *Rhetoricians,* to give them the names Disraeli chose [I am unable to find where Disraeli said this; perhaps Mr. Oliver heard him say it]—whose baulked desires to meddle in affairs of state have tempted them to exchange the role of mentor for that of pimp. They seek service with men of action—men who possess but little academic learning or literary facility, men who have gained power and kept it, and are plotting to make use of it against their enemies. To these influential personages the encyclopedic professor, the eloquent and nimble-witted rhetorician may sometimes prove invaluable. Their special department is propaganda, perversion and calumny.

And in his *Road to War,* Walter Millis remarks that "the academic sphere is as a rule only less sensitive than the clergy to the winds of novelty."

My anthology takes an unfavorable view of the professorial class, but I am afraid that we professors have been disinclined to ponder the risks that we run or to venture criticism when colleagues tend to bring into disrepute the guild to which we belong. Sometimes people speak of the academic mind and wonder whether it is suited for participation in public affairs. Of course there is no undiluted academic mind any more than there is an undiluted legal mind. An undiluted mind of any kind is a bad mind. Thinking like a lawyer too exclusively has hurt legal education, but I suggest that a greater hurt comes when men are called to new posts because they think in a certain way and then cease to think in that way, and try to ape the thinking of the men who have called them. One trouble in Washington has been that men who, four years ago, had an entree there because they were lawyers, ceased thinking like lawyers. They aspired to think, or perhaps I had better say that they imitated the mental processes of the politicians. Or if they continued to think like lawyers they let their hearts control their heads. They molded their legal thinking to fit their anticipation of what the politicians might want. That was a prostitution of talents. The man with special compe-

tence in economics or public administration runs a similiar risk of losing his intellectual virtue. He may return home in finery that he does not wish to explain. You will remember the old, old story of the cook who left suddenly, and after some weeks met her mistress. She—the cook—was wearing fine raiment—extremely fine raiment. "Why, Minnie," said the mistress, "how fine you look. What in the world has happened to you?" "Oh, Miss Jones," was the response. "Hasn't you heard the news? I's been ruint."

That, unhappily, is a danger that we run. We may avoid it partially by not leaving our universities—by giving only part time service and by not freeing ourselves entirely from the enervating influences of the academic climate. Under such circumstances a decision to vanish from public places can be taken without financial loss. The professor without private means should hesitate to put himself in the position of feeling compelled to draw a government salary until his university salary can be resumed; but even if there is no consideration of financial loss deterring a man from returning to exclusively academic duties, there may be other pulls.

One seems to be the pleasure of basking in the favor of those in the seats of the mighty. It is said that the British admire muddle-headedness in a statesman, but that when it is coupled with character they fairly grovel. On the high authority of Macaulay, " almost every intellectual employment has a tendency to produce some intellectual malady. Biographers, translators, editors—all in short who employ themselves in illustrating the lives or the writings of others—are peculiarly exposed to the *Lues Boswelliana,* or disease of admiration." It sometimes seems to me that akin to this disease is the faulty intellectual metabolism which some professors show when they are admitted into the company of political figures who have eminence and power. Those qualities become synonymous with greatness and omniscience. To the economist, to the public lawyer, no political leader should seem perfect, but some of us—at least for our periods of preferment —seem to lose all capacity of discernment and criticism.

One trouble is a tendency to forget that the academic task is diametrically the opposite of the task of the politician or the administrator. The academic mind is supposed to search for truth. Time is not of the essence. The politician cannot wait. He and the civil servant must frequently ignore truths that are plain to see, and the most that we can ask is that they realize the danger of what they are doing and that they act only because by not acting they would risk greater dangers. Indeed, the measure of the politician's ability may be found in a gift for choosing between what truths can and what truths cannot be ignored with safety. Unhappily, political experiments sometimes seem to succeed or to fail in rough proportion to the like or dislike with which they are greeted by the populace. An experiment whose risks the expert—indeed every expert—is convinced will be harmful may be hailed as what men want. In this rough and chaotic world that may be a not insufficient test of success. Or to put the matter another way, the politician is primarily interested not in the effects of the thing he does, but in what people think about those effects.

Hence there is the danger that in public service the scholar may gradually take the politician's point of view and may cease to think as he should. The danger is that he will serve not the government but his baser self. Statesmen rarely leave office voluntarily. In order to remain in office they must frequently sacrifice their consciences. That is a price which politics seems to demand of its practitioners. But the expert pays a far greater price if he permits to go unchallenged opinions in which he does not really believe, or if he vouchsafes opinions which he knows his political chief would like to hear. As I have said, the choices are sometimes difficult. How far can the economist or student of government afford to continue to be associated with policies of which he disapproves? When does the preservation of his intellectual integrity require his resignation? Before that stage is reached, is he entitled to express his dissent to those whose good opinions he values highly, and thus keep the record partly clear? Can he be certain that association with the great

and concern for their continued greatness are not warping his judgment?

In recent years a good deal has been written about the use of experts in public administration. General Smuts has declared that the most pressing problem of government is "to find for the expert an organic place in the work of democracy." This means the infusion into democracy of an aristocracy of knowledge and such knowledge can under present conditions come only from universities. All of us have read sermons on this text addressed to the politicians. We have exhorted them on how to behave toward experts. How experts should behave has received little discussion, but this side of the problem is, it seems to me, of equally pressing importance.

Experts have misbehaved—too frequently. If they had knowledge they assuredly did not have wisdom. My meaning here is well expressed in the Chinese saying: "What one knows: to know that one knows it. What one does not know: to know that one does not know it. That is true wisdom." In another sense, the distinction has been put plainly and felicitously in some lines of Cowper:

> Knowledge and wisdom, far from being one
> Have ofttimes no connection. Knowledge dwells
> In heads replete with thoughts of other men;
> Wisdom in minds attentive to their own.
> Knowledge is proud that he has learned so much;
> Wisdom is humble that he knows no more.

That says, better than I could, much of what I have been trying to say, and I therefore say nothing more.

Motion Pictures in General Education*

By CHARLES F. HOBAN, JR.

REORGANIZATION of general education in America demands not only a realistic philosophy of education but also the use of realistic methods and materials in the educational process both in and outside the classroom. Too frequently have our fine theories been accepted verbally, only to get bogged in the firmly established textbooks, lectures, examinations, grades, credit hours, and other teaching and administrative devices. Success of current reorganizational trends we dare not measure by the number of publications or convention sessions devoted to their wordy philosophic discussion; rather must we apply the single criterion of what is done about these trends in the lives of students and teachers.

This means that we must first define the general concepts, personal attitudes, social sensitivities, and patterns of rigorous scientific thinking essential for realistic adjustment of the individual in modern democratic society, and then utilize in educational practice those methods and materials of instruction which provide dynamic, intense, and dramatic experience in a world of reality. Among these methods and materials are the field study, the discussion group, the radio, the press, and the motion picture. It is our purpose here to discuss only the motion picture: to relate it to reorganizational trends and to indicate what steps appear to be necessary to adapt it to our new needs.

Trends in General Education

While many different approaches are being taken in the reorganization of general education, three concepts seem to

* This article is a revision of a report on the motion picture in general education prepared under the direction of the Committee on Motion Pictures in Education of the American Council.

be fundamental to all: education must be democratic; it must be functional; and it must envelop the total personality.

There are two ways in which general education is being democratized: (1) educational opportunity is being provided to an increasing proportion of the adolescent population; and (2) students are being afforded training in democracy. General education in democracy involves at least three elements: First, the educational program is being democratized to provide for the sharing of experience and responsibility. To a greater extent than formerly, students themselves are discovering problems, planning investigations, gathering data, pooling resources, posing hypotheses, testing these hypotheses, evolving meanings and solutions, and evaluating both the solutions and the worth of activities involved in their attainment. Second, the curriculum is being developed to include elements of democratic life, such as sensitivity to social problems, understanding of the processes and structure of society, critical attitudes of social action, cooperative group activity, interplay of forces of public opinion, and appreciation of conflicting points of view. Third, general education is providing greater opportunity for realistic experience in the common core of life situations and social problems. Barriers between the school and the community are being broken down; dramatic and realistic experiences are being introduced in the school through media other than books; provisions are being made for vast ranges of human abilities other than verbal.

In the second concept, general education is becoming functional through the relation of the content of the curriculum to the action patterns both of the individual and of society. The social sciences, the natural sciences, and the humanities are no longer being considered in academic isolation, but are being related to their human and contemporary settings. For instance, the sterile formalism of high school and college rhetoric courses is being replaced by laboratories of creative writing for the production of not only verse and short stories but also of letters, reports, and advertisements. Mathematics teaching is not so much concerned with the memorization of

the binomial theorem as it is with developing habits and skills of quantitative thinking which function in yearly income, installment buying, insurance, taxation, and the hundreds of other mathematical experiences of everyday living. The art of industrial design, of domestic architecture, of clothing, and of furniture is taking precedence over the Grecian urn that inspired Keats to his classic ode. Moreover, psychology instruction, in general education, is leaving unhappy rats to puzzle boxes in the psychology laboratory and is examining the habits of straight and crooked thinking, the prejudices and illusions inherited from European and African ancestors, and the emotional upsets and conflicts of boys and girls here and now. This functionalizing of the curriculum does not mean a lowering of scholastic standards; it means that study of science, art, and belles-lettres is being rooted in the realities of contemporary living.

In the third concept, general education is dealing with the total person, not merely with his intellectual processes. Consideration of education as cultivation of the higher mental processes involves careful ordering of our emotions—the sources of mental energy. In this concept mental hygiene of the student is of paramount importance. Cultivation of healthy emotions, attitudes, and ideals and the integration of these into strong character formations is not left to chaotic influences outside educational institutions. Opportunities for achievement on various ability levels are afforded. Experience is provided which will enable people to make intelligent choices, to resolve personal problems, and to make social adjustments. The curriculum is being related to the needs of people for vocational adjustment, socio-civic relations, home and family living, and the integration of personal values into a satisfactory philosophy of life. The process of education is considered as the integration of personality, the development of intellectual power, of interests, abilities, dispositions, appreciations, skills, sensitivities, attitudes, and ideals.

General education is not intended to develop a complete understanding of all areas of experience but rather is con-

cerned with selected key aspects, principles, concepts, and problems. In this process new media of learning experience must be made available. These media must be capable of selecting highly related aspects of certain concepts developed through laborious, time-consuming research and must be sufficiently dramatic, realistic, and emotional in appeal to provide intensity and depth of experience that develop functional as well as verbal learning. In portraying events independent of time and space through sight, motion, sound, and color, the motion picture becomes an instrument in general education for realistic experience essential to the development of understanding, attitudes, skills, and insights over a broad range of experience in a relatively short duration of time.

Functions of the Motion Picture in General Education

Fundamentally, the motion picture has three functions in general education: it synthesizes experience creatively; it is itself a subject of experience as an aspect of American culture; and it is a reorganizational force as a form of curriculum activity.

In its first function, that of synthesizing experience creatively, the motion picture becomes in fact a medium of cultural interpretation and lends itself particularly to the functional approach to reality. Not only is it capable of dramatizing the great events of the past but it can be used to portray the contemporary scene in such a fashion as to attach to its elements new relations, new meanings, new significances. Through realism and beauty of photography and of sound effects, selection of events in the everyday lives of people, its creative synthesis appeals to the total personality—its emotions as well as its intellectual processes. Creative synthesis of experience is illustrated in Paul Rotha's "The Face of Britain" and Pare Lorentz's "The Plow That Broke the Plains."[1] The one emphasizes the fundamental under-

[1] These two films are examples of documentary motion pictures mentioned in subsequent sections of this article. The documentary film deals with real people

standing that social and economic conditions depend on our use and control of energy and materials, and the other that conservation of natural resources is the responsibility of modern society. Neither of these films is particularly intended to build up a factual basis for the complete comprehension of these principles but rather to present a series of familiar experiences in new and broad relationships so as to develop insights into problems and, indeed, not only to sensitize the person to these problems but also to awaken responses directed toward progressive solutions.

In its second function, the motion picture is important to general education both as a form of aesthetic expression and as a medium for the development of public opinion. If children in school are to be educated in adjustment to and control of instruments, influences, and situations outside school, then these instruments, influences, and situations should be used and controlled in school. The motion picture is one of these modern social instruments exerting tremendous influences on the lives of people. It constitutes a powerful medium for the creation, change, and mobilization of public opinion. General education must develop a sensitivity to its influences, both in propaganda and antisocial terms, and a critical attitude toward its content.

Finally, the motion picture is a potential force in the reorganization of general education since its use constitutes a major element of educational experience. Development of motion pictures which are functional in their content and

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and their problems, personal and social. It has a theme, a unitary purpose, is cast with real characters out of life, and is staged in natural settings. In this sense, it is a pictorial documentation of problems which beset people in the contemporary world. In some documentary films, sound effects carry inherent qualities, such as conversation, the puffing of locomotives, the grinding of modern machinery, or the folksongs of sweating labor, frontier religion, excited soldiers marching to doom. In others, these inherent sounds turn to poetic interpretation—the clicking of rails sets the tempo and the rhythm of full-voiced meter. In still others, sounds change pitch and fiber as rills and brooks gather force and vigor, charge through rapids, are caught in spinning, humming, angry turbines—and running water comes to mean clean, cheap, natural power to clear slums, turn machines, and lift the burdens of labor.

which stimulate the total personality is one important aspect of educational reorganization. By dramatizing the world's great struggles for its liberties and the American people's constant efforts to preserve these liberties in the face of swashbuckling, saber-rattling dictators, the motion picture can bring about a new appreciation of the meaning of American democracy and of the relentless struggle for its preservation that lies ahead. Films which do this, introduced into classrooms of the nation, provide dynamic education for citizenship in a democracy.

Significance of Current Production Activities

If the assumptions underlying the discussion of trends in general education and the role of the motion picture in its reorganization are valid, it is apparently necessary that the educational film supply must be evaluated in terms of new objectives, that the needs for new film materials must be determined, that production of new types of films must be undertaken, that frontiers of new uses of film materials must be pushed forward if the motion picture is to be used to greatest advantage in general education. These needs can be adequately appraised only when we consider the significance of current activities from the broad point of view.

Important new activities in the production of film materials for general education have already been undertaken. The Commission on Human Relations of the Progressive Education Association has begun editorial selection of episodes from feature releases that dramatize through studio staging and newsreels some problem of human relations, together with the experimental validation of this material in selected schools. During the past summer an educational advisory committee of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., has been reviewing other theatrical materials. Through panels of this committee, short subjects produced for entertainment purposes were combed for their educational significance, and recommendations were made to the producers for the releasing and editing of these materials.

On the basis of reasonable assumptions regarding the release of materials through both the Commission on Human Relations and the educational advisory committee of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., it may be predicted that a new supply of valuable film materials will be available for educational use within the next two years. Reflection on these production activities, however, indicates their inadequacy for the total field of general education. All the materials to be released from both sources have been produced for entertainment purposes and, valuable as they are, their utility will be limited.

Nor can commercial production of educational films be regarded as completely complementing these new activities. During the past ten years the field of the motion picture in education has been kept alive by the activities of such organizations as the Eastman and Erpi instructional film divisions. Education cannot, however, depend upon commercial concerns to carry forward necessary experimentation. On the contrary, such concerns have had to consider maximum utility of minimum material and, as a result, "instructional" films are highly condensed, academic in approach, and geared into a static curriculum. Moreover, there is reason to believe that the situation in the entire field of instructional materials will be duplicated in the motion picture field. Failure of commercial publishers to adapt their materials to newer concepts and local situations has necessitated textbook production by universities and local schools and school districts.

Production of films by federal and state governmental bureaus has been accelerated within the past few years, but on the whole these films are intended for either purely vocational training or public information on governmental activities. Two experimental films have been produced by the Resettlement Administration which are significant to general education primarily because of their documentary treatment of problems of human welfare. These are "The Plow That Broke the Plains" and "The River." However, the merging of the Resettlement Administration with other government bureaus

may curtail further documentary film activities. Under present administrative organization, governmental production holds no great promise to general education primarily because the scope of federal government film production is limited by the functions of the various departments in the field of public education.

Industrial organizations have contributed and are contributing film material to the schools. Whatever value films of this nature may have, their unbridled production and use are a threat to education in that since they are produced primarily for promotion purposes their use in the classroom makes the school the unwitting tool of high-pressure competitive advertising. Dependence on this source of films for educational purposes threatens academic freedom and clothes propaganda in the garments of education.

Alternative Sources of Film Production

Two other approaches to the production of films for general education seem possible: (1) university production units may be established both to produce films and to train new film producers, and (2) local schools and school districts may be encouraged to undertake production of community films for local classroom use.

Concepts of general education discussed in this report imply the need for film materials which effect the functional approach to reality through the total personality. Only a few film producers in this country have the social insight or the educational zeal to produce these materials. It seems clear that, if documentary films that meet the needs of general education in America are to be made available for classroom use, units must be established for their production and for the training of individuals who will continue their production.[2]

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[2] Since this report was prepared, the University of Minnesota has received a $125,000 grant from the General Education Board for the establishment of a film production unit and the production of twelve films for its General College. Some of these films will deal with the intercultural relations of Minnesota's people—how the Finns, the Swedes, and the Germans have come to a new land, adjusted to its ideas, contributed to its culture, and built its wealth. Others will

Growing interest and activities among universities, not only in the experimental development of patterns of general education but also in film production and the documentary technique, argue for the establishment of one or more film production units in university centers. Many of these agencies are now producing other instructional materials such as textbooks, slides, museum materials, etc., and film production is but one more step in the same direction. Production of film materials in educational experimental centers makes possible an experimental approach to these materials. If, for instance, the documentary film is to find its proper place in American education, its production should find a place in such centers as the universities. It lends itself easily to propaganda. If it is to be used educationally, its potential drama, realism, and emotional appeal must attain the perspective which distinguishes education from propaganda, and truth from equivocation. The most certain approach to the production of educational films which are in harmony with the objectives of general education is through educational centers where curricula are being reorganized to meet these objectives. In university film units, films can be produced for the general college, for elementary and secondary schools, and for adult education activities.

It appears entirely possible that prior to the development of film units in various universities, provision should be made for the training of university staff members in documentary technique. Experience of English documentary producers indicates the effectiveness of a documentary unit in producing films and in training an enthusiastic personnel for the development of the movement. The present practice of bringing English documentarians to America and of sending promising young Americans to English documentary centers is very encouraging for the development of this movement in general education in America.

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deal with Minnesota's natural resources and industries—what they mean to Minnesota and its people, the United States, and the world. Still others will deal with vocational adjustment, the world of work, its demands, its promises, its limitations.

Necessity for the second alternative, that is, community production, arises from the need for flexibility and variability inherent in the democratization, functionalization, and personalization of general education. In addition to such core curriculum materials as may be produced by university film units and commercial producers, and such adaptations of entertainment materials as those undertaken by the Progressive Education Association and the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., films must be produced which are essentially local in character and which arise out of the needs of local situations. Social problems, democratic processes and structure, industrial relations, vocational adjustments, cultural backgrounds, religious aspirations, social justice—all these are operational and intimate to the individual in his own community. If we are to prepare for citizenship in an evolving democracy, experience should begin in democracy's essential unit—the community. Provision should be made for production of films dealing with community relations and since a university is primarily concerned with the larger community of the state and the nation, such production becomes a function of the local school district.

Immediate Basic Needs

Discussion of production activities makes it increasingly clear that their ultimate value and effect in general education depend on the extent to which they meet the needs of the general education population, and on the extent to which educators are prepared to use them effectively. Under a three-year grant of $135,000 from the General Education Board the Motion Picture Project is undertaking (1) to clarify the functions and needs of motion pictures in general education so that new production activities will be functionally adequate, and (2) to facilitate the development of general education programs through motion pictures so that educators throughout the country will be apprised of the values and uses of films and will be prepared to further their utilization more effectively and more completely.

There is reason to believe that some of the best film material now available is of value in general education. Unfortunately, however, no agency has previously existed which could synthesize the vast experience of teachers and students with film materials and make these syntheses available to others. Consequently, on the one hand, the difficulty of locating desirable films is a factor obstructing their wider use; and, on the other hand, among those who make use of films, lack of information on newer uses and broader objectives attainable through films tends to perpetuate the predominant notion of films as media primarily for the transmission of information in isolated subject-matter relationships.

Furthermore, there has existed no body of crystallized opinion on the needs for new films: types of films, subjects which should be treated, and techniques best adapted to various objectives of instruction. It has been the practice in previous production of educational films either to produce independently of educational consultation, or to rely on the advice and judgment of a few educators, most of whom had little or no direct contact with the educational situations for which films were produced. As a result, these films have been imposed on the schools from above or from without. In very few instances have films been produced in response to a demand from a large body of classroom teachers who are reacting in harmony with the needs of their students and who are directing behavior toward newer and broader objectives of education. Unless the needs for new film materials, based on the realistic experience of teachers with children, become articulate there will be no guarantee that new films will be more satisfactory than the old. The necessity for an evaluation clearing house seems apparent.

Establishment of an evaluation clearing house serves, in addition to its basal function in new production, to stimulate the development of general education programs through its emphasis on the democratic, functional, and personal objectives of education. There is need, however, for facilitating this development by extending the frontiers of the motion

picture in general education, by pointing the way to more efficient realization of all the educational potentials thought to exist in films, and by making possible the continuation of activities beyond the point of stimulation.

New materials to be released from theatrical sources or made available from federal government or British documentary sources require experimental validation in general education. The purpose of general education in America is not to create an appetite for breakfast herring and Ceylon tea or to popularize large or small corporations or governmental programs. Neither is it the purpose of general education to provide for entertaining transition from one point in time to another through dramatizing unimportant romances or portraying beautifully colored scenes of far-off places. General education is concerned with the development of reflective thinking, with the development of desirable social attitudes, with the development of social sensitivity. Our problem is to find out how materials which appear to have potentials for the attainment of these objectives can be used under classroom conditions actually to attain these objectives.

There is need for the establishment of experimental centers where all possible values of film materials will be deliberately exploited, where teaching methods for obtaining these values will be tried out, where effective techniques in films will be determined. In these centers the focus of attention should be primarily on the determination of the *how* of attaining through films the objectives of social sensitivity, reflective thinking, etc., rather than on the contribution of films to particular units of learning. As a part of this activity experimentation should be conducted in production of community films for local use as a means of relating general education to the functional needs of pupils in particular geographic areas.

Development of experimental units in university centers, teacher education institutions, and progressive school systems should not only expedite the experimental work, but provide for the development of a new leadership for motion pictures. The motion picture in general education suffers from the fact

that those who are taking the lead in developing general education curricula are none too familiar with the technical aspects of the motion picture and those familiar with the latter are unsympathetic to new curriculum developments. Through the work of experimental centers a much needed personnel can be developed to carry forward the results of these activities in the broad field of teacher education.

The Genesis of Modern Guidance*

By DONALD G. PATERSON

MY TOPIC is the Genesis of Modern Guidance. Emphasis should be placed on the word *genesis* and the word *modern*. In using the word modern I refer to the 1930-37 streamlined version since guidance models prior to 1930 are disappearing even in the hands of the second-hand dealers through junking rather than resale. This suggests that guidance is in a state of transition—guidance workers everywhere seem to be groping for what is sound and worthwhile in the newer developments. But this idea of transition takes us back to this matter of genesis. We must have a proper historical perspective if we are to keep our feet on the ground. One of our foremost American historians in discussing the present era of rapid change recently intimated that the genesis of such change is quite old; in fact this historian goes back to the Garden of Eden, pointing out that Adam said to Eve, "Things seem to be in a state of transition."

We need not go back to Adam and Eve, however, in discussing the origin of modern guidance. We need merely to go back to 1909 and review briefly the classical "bible" for guidance, *Choosing a Vocation,* by Frank Parsons. It is significant that Leonard Ayres discovered Retardation in Education and Magnus Alexander discovered Labor Turnover in Industry at about the same time. Ayres' discovery was revolutionary leading to intensive inquiry into the causes of retardation, one of the chief being the enormous range of individual differences in mental ability found in any random sample of school children. Alexander's discovery of excessive labor

* Much of the material contained in this paper is drawn from the Introduction to *Student Personnel Work* by E. G. Williamson and J. G. Darley with Introduction by D. G. Paterson (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1937). The paper itself was delivered before a three-day conference on Guidance and Mental Hygiene sponsored by the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, during the first summer session of 1937.

turnover rates in American business and industrial concerns led to the attempt to find causes too, and this in turn led to the development of employment management and industrial personnel work. At about the same time G. Stanley Hall invited Sigmund Freud to a conference at Clark University, and America discovered psychoanalysis. All of these beginnings have given us vigorous movements designed to bring about better adjustments of the individual. Employment Management, Industrial Personnel Work, Vocational Guidance, Student Personnel Work, and Mental Hygiene are all organized attempts to provide ways and means of facilitating the adjustment of the individual to the demands of the environment whether it be in school, in the home, in social activities, or in the world of work.

At the outset I would like to suggest that every guidance worker should read and from time to time reread Frank Parsons' book. It outlines the proper steps to take in choosing a vocation. Briefly put, it advocates that vocational guidance should provide for a scientific analysis of the individual as a basis for vocational choice. The guidance counselor then presents the individual with needed knowledge of occupations so that an intelligent choice of life work can be made. The formula is simple, man analysis on the one hand, job analysis on the other, and the bringing of the two together in the interest of an intelligent choice.

Parsons knew what was needed, but when he went to the psychological laboratories for techniques he found that the cupboard was bare. The psychology of individual differences was almost unknown and adequate techniques for the analysis of the individual were conspicuous by virtue of their absence. But Parsons had developed a sound idea and he was determined to meet the demonstrated need for guidance. He and his followers began occupational studies so that youth could be provided with occupational information. And from that day to this we have had a steady stream of occupational pamphlets, books, and an occasional monograph. But he and his followers steered clear of the man analysis phase of guid-

ance with the result that the vocational guidance movement became characterized by a technique which stressed the interview, self-analysis, and occupational information.[1]

The failure of the vocational guidance movement to make any noteworthy progress in the development of improved methods of analyzing the individual has undoubtedly prevented the movement from making as great a contribution to American education as its founder had a right to expect. The newer approach to modern guidance attempts to remedy this deficiency by developing adequate techniques for the analysis of the individual. It is the clinical method and since 1931 it has been tried out extensively in a variety of situations with noteworthy success. This newer approach, it is important to note, also makes use of sources of occupational information but shifts the emphasis to a study of the individual in relation to occupational adjustments—his capacities, abilities, interests, and character traits in relation to occupational requirements. It is an attempt to individualize guidance service to meet specific life needs.

The development of the clinical method is a result of the research efforts of applied psychologists who for the most part were not concerned with the guidance movement as such. Reference is here made to the establishment of a research center in applied psychology at the Carnegie Institute of Technology just prior to the World War under the leadership of Walter Dill Scott and Walter V. Bingham. These men and their colleagues and students addressed themselves primarily to the baffling task of developing ways and means of measuring vocationally significant mental traits. The development of intelligence testing prior to and during the World War, together with the widespread application of intelligence testing in schools and colleges after the war, represents a major contribution. The development of a full-fledged personnel system for the United States Army during the World War by

[1] Vocational counselors who have continued to follow this pattern of activity until the present time may be characterized as being arrested in their professional development on the level of occupational information.

Walter Dill Scott and Robert M. Yerkes and other applied psychologists likewise constitutes a major contribution. Here we witnessed the wholesale application of the idea of the qualification card as a basic personnel technique which has since been developed into the cumulative record card as a basic guidance tool in education. The Army personnel work also developed detailed occupational specifications, trade tests, rating scales, and the group intelligence test to supplement the interview.

Following the war and as a result of the impetus provided by the personnel work in the Army there were a variety of developments. The Division of Anthropology and Psychology of the National Research Council held a series of meetings devoted to a consideration of the possibilities of initiating a scientific vocational guidance program at the college level. As an outgrowth of these conferences, the American Council on Education sponsored a cooperative intelligence test program directed by L. L. Thurstone. In 1923 the American Council on Education also organized its Committee on Cooperative Experiments in Student Personnel. The work of this committee stimulated tremendous interest throughout the country in the desirability of undertaking student guidance programs in high schools and colleges. Of more importance is the fact that the committee provided workers in the field with instruments for making student guidance work more effective. The committee contributed the cumulative record card, the simplified rating scale for students, aided and encouraged E. K. Strong, Jr., in his work of measuring vocational interests, and encouraged experimentation in constructing adequate vocational information monographs from which have come Crawford and Clement's *The Choice of An Occupation,* and W. E. Parker's bibliography entitled *Books About Jobs.* The committee also developed adequate and reliable achievement tests at the secondary school level as well as at the junior college level. Out of this have come the batteries of objective and comprehensive achievement tests by the Cooperative Test Service directed by Ben D. Wood. All of these developments

are described in the report entitled "Measurement and Guidance of College Students" published in 1933. It is also noteworthy that the American Council on Education is continuing its work actively in this field through its recently established Committee on Measurement and Guidance and its new Committee on Student Personnel Work.

While these activities were taking place, other significant developments were under way as an aftermath of the Army personnel work. The Scott Company's work in business and industrial personnel work (Scott and Clothier, Personnel Management), the organization of the Personnel Research Federation, the Psychological Corporation, the Vocational Service for Juniors in New York, the Educational Records Bureau, the Institute of Educational Research at Columbia and similar research bureaus in other universities, the scholastic aptitude test program of the College Entrance Examination Board, the comprehensive Pennsylvania study of student guidance techniques, the Progressive Education Association study now in progress, the Minnesota Employment Stabilization Research Institute, the Rochester Employment Project, the Cincinnati Employment Center, the Adjustment Service in New York City, the Occupational Research Program of the United States Department of Labor, the National Occupational Conference, the University of Minnesota Testing Bureau—all these and others have made distinct contributions toward the development of a more scientific methodology in guidance. Indeed, the vocational guidance movement has been almost completely dependent upon these sources for its I. Q.'s, achievement tests, cumulative record cards, rating scales, aptitude tests, vocational interest tests, and personality measurements. As a matter of historic fact, the direct connection between Frank Parsons' outline and the newer approach is to be found in the Army, business, and educational personnel detour rather than in the highway of orthodox vocational guidance.

This newer approach could not have been developed had it not been for the slow and steady progress made by psy-

chologists in dealing with the psychology of individual mental differences. That sufficient theoretical and technological progress has now been made to warrant intensive application in this admittedly difficult field is the thesis underlying the presentation of principles, point of view, methods, and results constituting modern guidance as an important branch of student personnel work. In short, this is the clinical method.[2]

Permit me to stress the fact that educational and vocational guidance is only a branch of student personnel work. Student personnel work itself is a broader field of action involving the narrower aspects of mental hygiene work (psychiatrist, psychologist, and social worker cooperating in the adjustment clinic); problems involving the proper housing of students and the maintenance of satisfactory home adjustments of students, the control and educational utilization of extra-curricular activities—fraternities, athletics, intramural sports and recreations, publications, literary societies, dramatics, etc.; services to provide part-time and full-time employment for students and graduates; programs to provide scholarships and other financial assistance including the N. Y. A.; and control of those environmental influences that directly and indirectly affect the morale, mores, and morals of the student body. Administratively there are, therefore, two phases of student personnel work, one dealing with the adjustments of individual students and the other dealing with student group life. These two phases should be intimately related and coordinated. A well-rounded personnel program for any organization must encompass both points of view and must provide facilities that will insure that both approaches are fully utilized. This is why student personnel work requires the closest possible cooperation between administrators, department heads, classroom teachers, registrars, deans of men and women, speech clinic specialists, educational research workers, clinical guid-

[2] Strangely enough, the clinical method of guidance does not seem to be a direct outgrowth of the work of the clinical psychologist primarily because clinical psychologists all too frequently became arrested in their professional development on the level of the I.Q.

ance specialists, psychiatrists and medical officers, and employment placement men. The lone worker in personnel work who attempts to perform all of these functions not only spreads himself too thin but he works under the handicap of a "Jehovah complex."

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the pressing problems of guidance forces the professionalization of the guidance worker in the best sense of that term. Mere knowledge of industry and of vocational information books and pamphlets is not enough. The modern guidance worker must be thoroughly grounded in psychology, in research and statistics, and in clinical procedures. An M. S. degree in psychometrics or its equivalent would appear to be a minimum essential. The Ph. D. degree or its equivalent would appear to be a desirable qualification. It goes without saying, of course, that this newer type of guidance worker as well as the older type must also possess the personality traits that characterize those who are successful in dealing with people in face-to-face situations.

In contrast to such technical training demands, one may now look with amusement at the training program proposed by Frank Parsons in 1909. He described his school for vocational counselors, consisting of lectures, conferences, and laboratory practice.

> At least three hours a week are given by each member to this laboratory practice examining applicants for vocational advice and formulating the counsel believed to be appropriate for the solution of the specific problem presented by each case. . . . To enter the vocational course a man must have excellent character and ability, good manners and address, *at least a high school education or its equivalent,* and a satisfactory experience of two years or more. . . . He must have attained the age of twenty-five years, unless very mature at an earlier age. . . . *The time required will be one, two, or three terms,* according to the ability and previous preparation of the student.

And still more astonishing is the description of what this type of student so trained will be able to do for the guidance movement as may be seen from the following:

A certificate of proficiency will be given at the end of any term in which the practical results achieved by the particular student justify his enrollment as an *expert, qualified to test the abilities and capacities of young men,* apply good judgment, common sense, and scientific method to the various problems a vocation bureau has to deal with, and give appropriate counsel with the insight, sympathy, grasp, and suggestiveness the service calls for.

Many persons have recognized the desirability for a more scientific approach to guidance work. But they raise objections whenever anyone proposes to utilize scientific techniques in an actual guidance situation. They seem to fear science when it touches the individual. The belief persists that psychology is far too tentative and nebulous to be applied here and now. Aptitude testing is regarded as theoretically desirable but available tests and measurements are believed to be too crude, unreliable, and not sufficiently valid to warrant serious use. These attitudes exist not only among many laymen, but among some psychologists as well. And then there are the mathematical statisticians who learn about the standard error of estimate and straightway contend that no test or measurement should be applied until its validity is such as to guarantee a minimum of error. They desire to reduce the error of prediction to negligible amounts *before* countenancing the practical use of a mental test. They are uncomfortable unless the error of prediction is reduced at least 60 per cent.

But some of us are even more uncomfortable in the presence of educational maladjustments and vocational maladjustments that involve large numbers of students and workers. Hence, we would be bold enough to risk error in order to provide a type of guidance that the complexities of modern life demands.

Strangely enough, those who demand perfect tests are the very ones who are complacent in the face of the far larger errors being committed daily in school and shop through sole reliance upon traditional methods. Classroom grades, interviews, self-estimates, diplomas, chronological age, recommendations, encouragement of unbridled ambitions—these are the

traditional methods that Hollingworth has shown to have validities of 3 or 4 or 5 per cent better than chance.[3]

Our perfectionists however show another strange symptom. They survey with hypercritical eyes existing tests and measurements and find them wanting when tested by the severe standard of perfect validity. They impulsively throw the baby out with the bath and then in the next breath admit a host of street urchins by the side door without even a superficial inspection. I refer to those who reject tests and measurements but parade before the public an array of guidance techniques that are far less reliable and valid. What is the reliability and validity of a guidance interview? Of an occupational pamphlet? Of a lad's earnest but misguided desire to study medicine?

The way out of this dilemma is not for the pot to call the kettle black but for guidance workers to redouble their efforts through research and practice to provide a synthesis of all available guidance techniques with a view to obtaining the maximum service possible from our present methods. This has been done by the University of Minnesota Testing Bureau and follow-up studies indicate that 90 per cent of the students who carried out Bureau recommendations wholly or partly made satisfactory adjustment or progress toward adjustment, whereas only 22 per cent of the students who failed to follow Bureau recommendations made a satisfactory adjustment. This follow-up study of 987 students who have been subjected to the clinical method of guidance supplies the answer to the perfectionists who want to wait for perfect validity before venturing to put tests and measurements at work in the service of students.

The practice of medicine furnishes us with a deadly parallel. Should medical practice wait upon a completed and perfect science of medicine? Should the treatment of cancer be postponed until a cancer cure is discovered? Should we continue to rely on home remedies and patent medicines until scientific

[3] H. L. Hollingworth, *Judging Human Character* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1923).

medicine can provide us with perfectly valid tests of the endocrines, of metabolism, of allergies, or of a legion of other problems confronting the practitioners of medicine today?

One other word needs to be said before we conclude this analysis of the origins of modern guidance. I refer to the problem of methodology underlying clinical diagnosis in guidance. We cannot as yet reduce guidance predictions to a series of multiple regression equations. Nevertheless, the guidance clinician is dependent upon a background of statistical methods and a knowledge of statistical facts. Personnel research lies back of the clinical approach. Intimate acquaintance with the research data or the lack of research data supporting claims in behalf of this test or that test must be assumed. Otherwise, the clinical guidance counselor will be unable to judge the worth of the hundreds of tests now on the market. Critical appraisal of existing techniques must be used in the selection of the best available so that one may separate the wheat from the chaff. Knowledge of when to use a given test or type of test is essential if the most appropriate batteries of tests are to be administered to a given individual. In other words, through training and research we must implement our guidance counselors so that they will be able to provide the best possible type of scientific guidance service. For this reason it is significant that this guidance conference begins its working sessions this afternoon with a consideration of what research can contribute.[4]

In closing permit me to make a prediction. From developments and achievements to date and from the widespread interest one finds in scientific guidance work here in California, in the Midwest, in the East, and in the South, I am confident that we are on the threshold of a rapid expansion of guidance services in high schools, colleges, and universities, and in

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[4] The attention of counselors is directed to W. V. Bingham's, *Aptitudes and Aptitude Testing* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937); and the forthcoming handbook by D. G. Paterson, G. Schneidler, and E. G. Williamson, entitled *Student Guidance Techniques, A Handbook for Counselors in High School and College* (New York: McGraw-Hill Co.).

adult adjustment clinics attached to public employment offices. Another prediction is also safe, namely, we are on the threshold of a tremendous acceleration of testing programs everywhere as a result of the introduction at this very moment of an electrical scoring machine that will reduce costs to a negligible figure. I refer to the International Test Scoring Machine which has been perfected and is now being produced by the International Business Machines Corporation. This machine has been put to severe tests in the Regents' Inquiry in New York state and in the state-wide survey in Connecticut. In brief, this machine permits test booklets to be used over and over again by means of special answer sheets. These answer sheets containing as many as 200 items can be run through the machine at the rate of 975 an hour. The Strong Vocational Interest Tests, Thurstone's Tests of Primary Mental Abilities, Intelligence Tests, and Achievement Tests will all be rearranged to permit machine scoring. The machine will do the work of twenty scoring clerks and thus permit continuous testing of large numbers of individuals at very little expense. The machine will rent for $300 per year and it is safe to predict that most of the high schools, colleges, and universities in the United States will eventually be equipped with these machines.

For all these reasons I make bold to predict the immediate rapid development of educational and vocational guidance programs that would bring tears of joy to the Father of Guidance, Frank Parsons. Progressive educators everywhere will welcome this newer type of guidance program because it will break down the mass errors of mass education and will individualize education in a thorough-going manner. This newer type of guidance, therefore, stands as a challenge to educational traditionalism.

Professional Education

By JAMES E. CUTLER

IF ONE consults the literature dealing with educational matters, which now occupies a large section in libraries, one quickly discovers that professional education as such has received very little attention and consideration. Kindergartens, nursery schools, progressive education, elementary schools, secondary education, industrial and vocational schools, physical education, health education and higher education are familiar classifications. *Professional* education, on the other hand, appears not to exist at all, or to warrant reference only as to something strangely vague and relatively unimportant.

Yet, on a moment's thought, one recognizes that what constitutes essential preparation for the professions has a basic societal significance, particularly among civilized peoples. The student of societal organization must necessarily concern himself with the evolution of the professions. Secret societies inhere in the societal organization; likewise do professional groups. With the advancement of civilization and the emergence of science, as opposed to magic, professional groups multiply and their influence and power increase enormously. The various specialized and skilled services that are characteristic of civilization are contributed by professional groups and are largely determined, as to nature and scope, by the standards set by these groups.

If this be true, how may such a discrepancy and the apparent disregard of the subject by educators be explained?

In the first place, there is ample reason for a lack of manifest interest in education for the professions. The general public has no responsible source of information about it and is at the mercy of the advertising quacks who brazenly assert their competence. Those who seek professional services pass judgment on the performance of the practitioners whom they engage but lack adequate means of relating performance to available preparation for practice. Their knowledge is gained

through intermittent experience, by the method of trial and error, and no abiding interest on their part is kindled in the means by which preparation for the practice of a profession is gained. How the professional groups are constituted and by what process they perpetuate themselves are matters of little general concern. Dramatist and cartoonist find it possible to delineate caricatures that may become conventionalized characterizations, for example, the attorney at law a pettifogger, the family physician a kindly disposed, bearded purveyor of pills who drives a horse and buggy.

In the second place, each professional group struggles with its own educational problems, assuming them to be so nearly unique as to have little in common with those of other professional groups. Even if a professional group has established a school and it becomes a constituent part of a university, its needs and its problems are usually isolated. Since a position of self-determination is expressly desired by this new unit in the university organization and it is understood usually that its financial needs are to be met without encroaching upon the existing resources of the university, the new unit is treated as if it had nothing at all in common with other professional schools for which the university may have assumed responsibility. Often fallacious analogies are drawn. Recommendations resulting from studies that have been made of engineering education include emphasis upon the economic aspects of engineering, to the end that the student may be prepared either for a technical career or for business management and economic and social planning. In the field of legal education it is likewise urged that the schools should give preparation for business administration, as well as for the practice of law. Presumably schools of business administration, with equally good reasons from their point of view, might incorporate legal and engineering training in their curricula.

From this assumption of the uniqueness of each professional interest, arise jurisdictional jealousies and divergencies which seriously interfere with the proper development of preparatory training. The essential preparation for admission to the

professional schools is prescribed now by this group and now by that, with the result that colleges, junior colleges, and high schools are faced with an impossible task. Herein lies a source of the confusion that is said to exist in the aims of our educational system. To advocate the organization of junior colleges as the chief means of eliminating confusion of objectives is to overlook a principal factor in the confusion. Junior colleges, in themselves, hold no magic formula for the solution of the problems of preparatory training for admission to professional schools. Nor does the proposal to cast the professional schools adrift from the universities offer even a specious plan for eliminating this source of confusion.

In recent years the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the United States Office of Education have both made noteworthy contributions to the advancement of professional education in the United States, but their efforts have been confined almost exclusively to single professional groups and have dealt with the standards maintained by the existing schools in the group chosen for consideration. In the current publication by the Russell Sage Foundation of a series of valuable monographs, prepared by Dr. Esther Lucile Brown, dealing with the present status of certain established and emerging professions in the United States, a section of each monograph is devoted to education, the discussion being restricted to the particular profession therein described.

Foundations have made grants to promote professional schools, but usually to self-constituted committees or councils for the study of problems presented in their individual fields of interest. Little or no attention has been given to the field of professional education as a whole. Nor have the educational problems presented in a profession which is in process of differentiation, where the path trod by the older professions must be blazed anew, received diligent inquiry and consideration at the hands of any research organization or educational institution. The need for the study of this neglected field of education is indeed urgent—in the public interest, as well as that of the professional groups concerned.

All professional education is concerned with five general objectives:

First, the acquisition of the professed knowledge of a department or division of science or learning. This involves setting admission requirements for the professional school and determining what constitutes proper pre-professional preparation. It is basic for curriculum building in the professional school.

Second, the attainment of an understanding of the practical application of this professed knowledge to the affairs of others, according to the Century Dictionary, "either in advising, guiding or teaching them, or in serving their interests or welfare." This is the distinctively professional part of the curriculum. The content must come from familiarity with and study of the field itself. It is derived from the systematic collection of data from practitioners and the determination of practices and techniques which are effective under certain conditions. In some cases the method of job analysis has been used for this purpose. Teachers who qualify professionally, as well as in ability to give instruction, are needed for this part of the curriculum. Freedom from stagnation on a particular level of achievement and meritorious advancement of a profession depend upon the measure of success achieved in seeking this objective for the young recruits.

Third, skill in the practice of an art based upon the professed knowledge and its application. For the professional student there are required to achieve this objective special facilities, related as closely as possible to local current practice, such as laboratories, clinics, wards and departments of hospitals, dispensaries, schools for practice teaching, shops for engineers, public health agencies for public health nurses, social agencies and departments of government for social workers. Facilities of this nature which can be used for the benefit of the beginner in acquiring skill, under competent direction and supervision, are indispensable in professional education.

Fourth, the inculcation of service to others, not to self pri-

marily, as a guiding principle. Personal adaptability for the practice of the profession enters at this point as a qualification for the admission of the student. Professional ethics—ideals, codes of honor, generally accepted employment practices—have their place in professional practice. The interest of the public, of clients, of patients, of pupils, must invariably be held to be paramount by the practitioner who wins distinction.

Fifth, the maintenance of a progressive examining and licensing authority for determining minimum qualifications for admission to practice. Licensure includes the three methods of registration, certification, and licensing. Professional organizations, as well as professional schools, are concerned in setting requirements for licensure. At this point the participation of professional groups has a determinative influence; their participation may restrict, or it may foster and promote, the efforts of the schools to add further professional distinction to that already achieved. It is the function of the schools to improve professional education to the end that the performance of the practitioners may be improved. Much depends upon the leadership that is present in the professional organizations—the academies, the bar associations, the societies, the federations and other professional associations—in striving to achieve this objective.

A profession has its origin in a specialized service which undertakes to meet a generally recognized need. The art precedes the science. Then those who engage in this specialized service, or calling, profess to understand and to follow it. The situation in a professional group, when it becomes apparent that an organized educational program for beginners is desirable, seems always to necessitate setting relatively low admission requirements. In attaining the aforesaid first objectice (the acquisition of the underlying science or department of knowledge) the problem of raising admission requirements thus becomes a constant and persistent problem in professional education. Since there are always distinguished members of the professional group whose pre-professional qualifications were less than those that it is proposed shall be established

henceforth, it is argued that it would be inadvisable to bar from the profession an individual who possesses in so high a degree personal adaptability for successful practice. In the field of legal education, for example, the case of Abraham Lincoln is always cited when an advancement of requirements is under consideration. The objective of personal adaptability becomes confused with that of competency in the domain of the relevant professed knowledge.

Another persistent problem that arises in connection with the formulation of a basic curriculum is specific versus general pre-professional requirements. Shall the requirements be stated in terms of credit units in specified academic subjects or courses of study, or shall they be stated merely in terms of completion of a certain number of years in a graded educational system, or perhaps graduation from secondary schools or colleges, with or without a stated minimum rank in class work? This problem awaits general investigation and study. At present each field of professional education pursues its own way independently and no one knows whether the formulation of a general policy would be advisable, although vigorous protests against the requirements of some of the professional schools have been voiced by academic authorities.

In how far the curricula of the schools in one professional field should be standardized is another problem of general import. Standardization would facilitate the transfer of professional students from one school to another. Is the transfer of students desirable in professional education, or should they remain for graduation in the school where first admitted? Should professional schools admit special students without reference to candidacy for graduation? What is the significance of building a professional curriculum to conform to an academic system of credit units, however much it might facilitate student transfers? Is it possible to achieve the aforesaid third objective, skill in the practice of an art based on the application of the professed knowledge, if a considerable amount of standardization is introduced or if student transfers are encouraged? In how far should conformation to pattern

in the professional school be permitted to modify the objective of providing and utilizing to the utmost the available facilities for training skilled practitioners? Is the art of the profession to be taught through carefully planned practice work or through practice under actual working conditions with competent supervision and direction, or through a combination of both?

There is the question also of reliance upon a plan of internship appointments, following graduation from the professional school, versus assumption of full responsibility by the school itself for the acquisition of sufficient skill to warrant admission to practice. These are questions which are being answered at the present time in particular fields of professional education without adequate general information available for guidance.

It is a fair presumption that an obligation rests upon the professional school to afford an opportunity for the experienced practitioner to keep up to date in his practice. The programs often arranged for this purpose by professional organizations, even the consistently planned programs of the Academies of Medicine, presumably need to be supplemented in any rapidly advancing professional field by systematized effort on the part of the schools. An equivalent of what has been done for teachers-in-service is perhaps highly desirable for other professional groups. Haphazard efforts to supplement the initial preparation of the practitioner would no doubt be more effective, and in the end more constructive and helpful, if made in the light of a wider perspective.

In order to afford some basis for the appraisal of professional schools by the public and by prospective students, self-imposed accrediting agencies have been established. What has been done in this respect in one professional field, including its estimated effectiveness and desirability under specified conditions, needs to be compared with the experience gained in others and the collected information made available to all.

The proper form of the degree to be conferred by the professional school has not yet been determined in the United

States. Shall it be a bachelor's degree or a master's degree, or the doctorate? Shall a professional school use one form for the first degree and undertake to confer another form as an advanced degree? A complete lack of uniformity prevails at the present time. In law a bachelor's degree is conferred as a first degree, while in medicine it is the doctorate. In engineering the field of specialization is indicated in the bachelor's degree that is conferred, while in medicine the doctor's degree, and in dentistry also, is used indiscriminately with no indication of the field of specialization. The City Directory and the Classified Telephone Directory, for instance, are useless as guides to those who may be in urgent need of specific medical care and are seeking the services of those in the profession best qualified to give it. In education for the ministry the bachelor's degree is conferred as a professional degree and the degree of Doctor of Divinity has become an honorary degree for the clergy. The plight of the Protestant clergy in this respect is most unfortunate. They desire to serve congregations the members of which like to refer to their pastor by attaching the title of doctor to his name. Advancement professionally means that they must perforce become receptive candidates for the honorary degree at the hands of some friendly and well-wishing college or university. In the newer professional schools it is common practice to use the master's degree as the first degree. Where extensive specialization has entered the practice of a profession, as is notably true in some of the older professions, the pressure is strong to establish a variety of degrees. All of which is very confusing to the public in general and constitutes an apposite subject for consideration by educators.

Whether it is possible to eliminate the esoteric element that seems to be inherent in professional education and whether that would be desirable even if possible, are questions that do not fall within the limits of this discussion. The present purpose is to direct attention to the fact that while some excellent studies have been made of the education of practitioners in selected professions, nothing that is at all comparable has been

done with reference to professional education as a whole. It is suggested that professional schools have much more in common, that their interests and problems are more nearly identical than is generally thought to be true, and that in the interests of public welfare a new approach to the administration and promotion of these schools is desirable.

Professional schools are now in large measure under the jurisdiction of universities and their administration has been accepted as a university function. More than budgetary supervision is involved in their administration. Not a little of the research that is sponsored by universities for the advancement of knowledge and of human welfare is carried on in the professional schools. These schools constitute an integral part of the higher education for which universities are maintained and to which the public is asked to give support. Their proper support as a part of the university organization and their well-considered administration are fully warranted by the societal significance and importance of the services they render. Professional education merits study from the point of view of the modern university and it is to be hoped that the necessary interest, understanding, and perspective will not be lacking. Research, vision, wisdom, and cooperative effort are required to find the best possible solution for the common problems that are inherent in the advancement of professional education.

Responsibility in Educational Broadcasting*

By FRANK ERNEST HILL

THE most hopeful workers in educational broadcasting will admit that their activity is still marred by a confusion of ideas and purposes, and a consequent disorder in performance. To be sure, it is a brilliant confusion—a sky in which the gray of mediocrity and the darkness of work downright bad are relieved by frequent flashes of sun and lightning. Yet the confusion persists; and we who seek a happier future for our work are less concerned about efficiency in the higher short waves or the long-delayed birth of television than we are with achieving an order within which educators and broadcasters can move more rapidly in constructive work.

Order presupposes responsibility; and the question arises naturally if before we can hope for less confusion, we must not clarify our thinking with regard to certain obligations which should characterize education by air. I propose to look briefly at some of these. I belive that they touch the roots of important difficulties. Since the field of our activity is chiefly filled by two groups that have dominated it from the beginning, I shall consider particularly two aspects of responsibility, one primarily affecting broadcasters, the other, educators.

I should first like to examine the administrative responsibility for broadcasting: the responsibility of deciding what education should be offered by radio, of getting it, and of seeing that it fits into the complicated program of radio activity as a whole.

We can best approach this particular responsibility by look-

* A paper read before the Second National Conference on Educational Broadcasting which was held in Chicago November 29, 30, and December 1 under the chairmanship of George F. Zook, president of the American Council on Education.

ing back for a moment to those days in which our American radio system grew from infancy to adolescence, and education as a possible broadcasting activity first achieved an importance worthy of discussion. At that time—in the late nineteen twenties—the men who controlled the radio stations of America had already assumed responsibility for various kinds of radio programs. They had taken full charge of music on the air, of comedy, of drama, of news, and of all advertising done by radio. They had selected musicians, actors, commentators, salesmen, and were planning and directing their efforts. However, they were unwilling to take the same responsibility for education. They said frequently: "We are not educators. We will gladly open our doors to those who are. But we cannot be expected to plan for and provide educational programs. To do this is chiefly the responsibility of the educator."

You will recall that in those years a large number of educators agreed with them. You will recall also that little educational activity came from educational leaders. Even after the launching of the extensive program of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education late in 1931, and smaller programs of other educational groups, educators seemed unwilling or unable to supply any general plan for educational broadcasting, as broadcasters publicly hoped that they would, or to develop individually such program activities as would satisfy the demand of a limited but interested public for teaching on the air. The broadcasters freely admitted this. They said that the fault was the educators'.

Many will agree that the educator has done less for radio education than he should have done. I shall presently consider certain obligations which he has yet to fulfil satisfactorily. But as we look back on the beginnings of educational broadcasting this expectation of the broadcasters that educational leaders should present them with a plan for education and carry the greater part of it into action seems more and more a matter for wonder.

In the first place, educators in America have never agreed among themselves about education off the air. Indeed, their

activities have always been characterized by vigorous disagreements as to purpose and method. Our educational progress has been the result of many philosophies and experiments. As a result, Cleveland today has a school system of one type, Los Angles or New York a different one. Johns Hopkins and Dartmouth and Antioch stand for varying conceptions of higher education. In the field of adult teaching, practice has been as heterogeneous. All this lack of conformity to one pattern has apparently been healthy—out of disunity an interchange of ideas and methods has taken place. A similar type of progress was to be expected in education on the air, and as a matter of fact has developed.

But there was a more important factor which the broadcasters did not consider. It was this: educators working in schools and colleges had an intimate knowledge of all the tools with which they worked, and they had full power with regard to their use. On the other hand, in educational broadcasting it was the broadcaster who knew the tools and had the power. In the nature of things it was he who must fit education into the radio activity, saying how much of it there should be, and when it should be heard. To speak symbolically, he also controlled the schoolroom, knew where the blackboards and maps and chalk were kept and—as much as anyone—where the students sat. So in calling upon the educator to plan and launch education he was much in the position of a newspaper editor who might say: "I am not an expert on foreign policy. I will open my columns to those who are. But I cannot be responsible for planning with regard to foreign policy. That is the function of the economist." Of course such an editor would be laughed out of journalism. And there were but two reasons why the broadcasters waiting for educational programs were not laughed out of broadcasting. One was that all radio activity was new, and many well-meaning pioneers were making fools of themselves, with the result that folly was difficult to detect, and in self-protection regarded charitably even if suspected. The other reason was that though he professed a lack of responsibility for education on the air, the broad-

caster in actual practice was proceeding to take an increasing amount of initiative and authority with regard to it.

I need not rehearse that process in detail. Such early educational features as the Damrosch Music Appreciation Hour and the American School of the Air were established by two of our nation-wide radio networks, and today the three great chains offer a large number of educational features. America's Town Meeting of the Air, The Chicago Round Table, The Columbia Workshop—such programs testify both to a consciousness of obligation and a high capacity on the part of broadcasters with respect to education. The establishment of educational departments at network headquarters, the maintenance of advisory boards of educators in several fields of education, a close cooperation by broadcasting authorities with many nationally known educational groups—all these activities and others are further proof that the leaders of radio activity in America have assumed to a growing extent, and with growing success, the administrative responsibility for education which they earnestly professed was not primarily their obligation. Many individual stations have manifested a comparable activity of their own, and many have benefited by the activities of the networks with which they are affiliated. Incidentally, it should be pointed out that even when universities have acquired radio frequencies and thus have assumed the role of broadcasters, the amount and character of educational programs has been determined not primarily by educators outside the stations, but by the broadcaster-educators who operate them. Wherever there has been progress, the men in charge of radio facilities have to a considerable extent accepted and discharged the responsibility for finding and developing educational features.

No one today will dispute that the increasing educational activity of the broadcaster has been constructive. Our school on the air has increased in size and improved in quality as networks and stations have more and more taken upon themselves to plan for and maintain instructive broadcasts. And looking back on what has happened, one feels that in contrast

the refusal or reluctance of the broadcaster to assume responsibility has always acted as an obstacle to progress in educational broadcasting. Perhaps at times it has been the chief obstacle to that progress.

Unfortunately the idea that the educator should bring in education and have the obligation to maintain the supply is still prevalent with many individual American radio stations. Many are actually waiting for the educator to get to work. Others are not, but still profess to believe, despite a vigorous activity, that in taking the initiative in education they are shouldering a burden which is not really theirs. Ghosts of the attitude even haunt network headquarters. In other words, the conviction and understanding of the broadcaster with regard to his function as a planner and initiator of education has not yet caught up with his practice. Naturally the practice has in turn been impeded. This can be seen in radio activity everywhere. A full acceptance of the task of providing and maintaining education—and of course a broadcaster provides and maintains education when he arranges with educators individually, with groups, or with institutions to furnish programs with his cooperation as well as when he puts on a program of his own—would mean that broadcasters faced fully a number of important questions. These would comprise the question of how much education there should be, at what times it should be heard, and how it should be protected from certain other aspects of the radio program that are inharmonious with it. Furthermore, responsibility fully accepted would mean a close supervisional responsibility for the quality of the educational program. In varying degree some of these obligations toward educational effort have been discharged by the networks and by various individual stations. Yet one can say that more than half of our American radio stations have still to grasp clearly their necessary role as administrators of education.

The norm in responsibility for education among broadcasters in America is still to get some of it from groups or institutions of some repute—how much does not greatly matter—fit it in where it will cause the least trouble, and let

the educator worry about its quality. And even where practice rises far above the norm, the broadcaster is still more passive than positive. He has yet to deal with education in the same aggressive spirit in which he deals with entertainment. He is tentative about it. He does not like to consider the fundamental questions of How much? When? and In what setting? Here he still bears an old uncertainty as to whether, after all, he may not be able to escape education. Maybe it isn't good radio. The writing on the wall, however, says that it is good —good sometimes already in actual performance—destined to be both interesting and profitable as all the experts unite to make it so. And the expert it needs primarily is the man who controls all radio activities, education among them, and can and must provide shape and firmness to educational activity by creative initiation and supervision.

Some would like to see both the reality and the lingering ghosts of the old attitude of withholding, or refusal to accept full administrative responsibility, completely purged from networks and stations. The experience of the past ten years has spoken plainly. It says to the broadcaster: "Don't wait upon the educators. Go out and find experts in education in whom you have confidence. With them develop a program, assuming full obligation for it. This program will doubtless meet with adverse criticism. So have most of the educational programs off the air. But your effort can be a coherent and comprehensive one, and you can reshape it under comment and as you see the effects of action. And only by accepting full responsibility for this activity can you hope to achieve the effectiveness you desire in it as in all phases of your radio program."

Naturally a clearer recognition by the broadcaster of his function as a director of education is only the first step toward an ordered activity in educational broadcasting. Nor is the step easy to take. The broadcaster cannot always find educators interested in radio who have also the ability to work with distinction in the field. The task of building or helping to build programs is not a simple one. That of making education

a harmonious part of an entire program is difficult. We are still pioneers in this new type of teaching. But to set a coherent plan and work under it is at least a sound beginning. Realistic understanding breeds strength. As the broadcaster accepts more consciously and fully his primary function in education on the air, and labors creatively instead of defensively, he with others will profit by a more concentrated and forceful effort, and will establish a better framework within which educational activity can develop.

What are the educator's responsibilities in the growth of this activity? I have already indicated some of them. The fact that administrative authority and obligations rest with the broadcaster does not relieve the educator of his obligations as a critic and adviser. Neither can it relieve him, as the head of an educational institution or group, of a definite duty to take an active part in educational broadcasting. It is increasingly obvious that every library and museum, every school system or university, has a social duty to perform in helping to make effective for teaching, within the bounds of its resources, an agency of communication which now reaches more Americans, and for more of each day's time, than any other we possess. But there is an obligation which is even more obviously the educator's. If he is to be a factor in radio at all, the teacher is responsible for teaching. How has he discharged this task in the case of education by air?

If we are honest with ourselves, those of us who are educators will admit that our total accomplishment as members of the faculty of the air has left much to be desired. There is no need to specify failures. Most of us have heard them frequently, although we have also heard, much less frequently, an encouraging number of programs developed by educators or with their cooperation—such as the programs of the University Broadcasting Council and the Federal Radio Project—which have had both high promise and the thrill of successful performance. Let us bear those in mind; but let us also recognize that more than a majority of efforts by educational groups or institutions have been mediocre or dull. They draw and

hold bodies of listeners that are far too small. They have operated to establish a bad reputation for education on the air.

What has been the cause? The broadcaster has given an answer to this question. He says that educators lack "showmanship." Adequately interpreted, this may be true. However, I am doubtful if inherently there are fewer educators capable of arousing interest in listeners or utilizing dramatic resources than there are business men, journalists, or even radio officials. I suggest an explanation which seems to me more rational if also more insulting. I should say that in educational broadcasting we who are educators have lacked and still lack—education.

Let me explain what I have in mind. It goes back to the essential character of education on the air.

What is this character? First of all, it is that of a new activity in the educational field. And this new activity is particularly significant first, because it promises to have a great importance as an agency for teaching, and second, because it is sharply different from any other agency of instruction that we know. Considering both the importance and unique character of the new instrument, one would expect it to challenge the imagination and energy of educators everywhere. They would be busy, one would think, studying how to use this startling device. They would have the good sense—one need not say vision—to give it more thought and labor than they bestow on types of teaching which have been explored and practiced for many years.

A few educators have regarded education on the air as a challenge, and are busy today probing what in a very real sense are its mysteries. However, their attitude is in contrast to that of the majority of their colleagues. Let me remind you briefly how radio has actually been dealt with by the heads of most educational groups and institutions that have undertaken to broadcast. For example, let us look at the universities.

There are many universities offering radio programs. Some have stations of their own. These represent a particular prob-

lem which, for the sake of brevity, I shall not discuss. Among the others, a considerable number are maintaining programs without so much as a faculty radio committee to consult about them. A still larger number have committees, but these seldom, if ever, take any active role in helping to choose and plan programs, test speakers, or supervise the writing and production of broadcasts. Still others have a radio director, the first logical step toward attacking the problem. But this director is often a busy teacher, squeezing out a few hours to solicit speakers and see that they appear at the scheduled time. Often he is ill-qualified, because of youth or lack of radio experience, to do much more. In a few instances he is an able man with sufficient knowledge of radio and time to supervise, but even then he may face a relative indifference on the part of the head of the university. Usually, too, if he seeks broadcasters among the university faculty, he must ask them to undertake arduous work without remuneration. For only in a few of our universities is allowance made on teaching schedules so that teachers can have time to devote to radio, and in no case of which I am aware are the members of a college faculty paid in cash (as they would be for extension teaching, for example) for the unusually heavy work which the production of good programs demands. In other words, the heads of our institutions of higher learning are dealing in general with broadcasting, not as an important and particularly difficult activity, but as one of less importance than any other type of teaching which they control. Fortunately, there are what might be called partial exceptions to this rule. I say partial, for I know of no university where the setting for radio activity is as satisfactory as that for other types of university work. Fortunately, also, our libraries and public schools have shown more imagination than our colleges. In a number of cases they have able directors and provide for broadcasting as a part of the regular work which a librarian or teacher carries. Yet even where the conditions are best they are, as described to me by directors and those who broadcast, seldom such as to encourage much more than a routine activity.

In general, the individual educator preparing a program is handicapped by the wretched setting in which he must do his work. It is not strange if, when his superiors lack the imagination to provide modestly in direction, money, and time for radio work, he in turn should lack the incentive and imagination to attack educational broadcasting as a new and difficult problem. And usually he has lacked it. He has taken little account either of the difficulties of educational broadcasting or of its resources. Often, indeed, he is not the man for the task. The best educators are frequently too busy with work that is well directed and well paid to give their energies to the microphone.

There is no need for me to remind you of what educators might find in the problem of educational broadcasting if they were to attack it with imagination and energy. You know that in this new type of education important physical conditions characteristic of all other education are abolished, and different and strange physical conditions are established. You know also the unusual resources of radio teaching; the availability of music, of various sound effects; the ease with which devices such as the quiz, the discussion, and the drama may be employed. You recognize that, as a result, the approach of the teacher in radio must be different—more that of a dramatist than of a teacher facing a class. And you understand that the preparation and production of a program, if they are to be successful, therefore take on more the quality of an intense art. The educator who ignores these considerations is likely to fail in his task of education just as he would fail if he tried to apply grammar school methods to adult education, or the lecture hall technique to a seminar. Again, while the use of music or drama or conversation may be unnecessary for a given program, the educator who ignores these resources is again not functioning as an educator. He is as weak in his role as an architect of the machine age would be in his if he ignored concrete, structural steel, composition building materials, or new resources available in our greater control of glass. There is only one way to practice education on the air successfully, and that is to understand its character as fully as possible, and

let teaching conform to that character and take advantage of it. To do this is the responsibility of the teacher.

Fortunately the educator, like the broadcaster, has been making progress in working out in practice what he has not clearly recognized in idea. More and more he is turning to the radio station for information. More and more he is attending radio workshops or acquiring a new sense of his problem by observation and work at the centers of radio activity. More and more he is bending himself to a more skillful and diligent preparation of programs. Finally, there are signs that the leaders of groups and institutions are recognizing both an increasing obligation to radio and the real difficulties which must be overcome before good broadcasting is possible. Out of such activity may come a new vision for a large number of educators. Conditions for work may improve. The size of the teaching problem in radio education may be more widely recognized. More of our best teaching talent may attack the problem, working with high skill and a generous energy. Then, and only then, we may be able to tell whether or not the educator is a "showman." At present, because of the difficult conditions under which he works, and the attitude which he usually brings to his task, we only know that at the microphone he is seldom in any real sense an educator.

Ideas are dangerously vague. I have tried to present two which I feel, if put to work, might have a profoundly clarifying effect upon educational broadcasting. I recognize the difficulty of making them concrete and forceful. It is easier to say: "Stop theorizing and get to work. One good program is of more practical effect than endless discussions about responsibility." Yet it remains a fact that ideas are the generators supplying energy for work, and that something has been the matter with our generators. If we can get a better sense of what responsbility means and who should exercise it, both in administration and in teaching, we shall have improved the machinery which gives us power. What to do with the power will then remain still as our problem. But it will be a problem which we can face with greater confidence and a richer prospect for success.

Supply and Demand in the Professions

Prolegomena to Educational Planning

By JOHN H. MacCRACKEN

THE greatest indictment of education as the "road to wisdom" is its own ignorance of where the road leads and at what port those who travel it will arrive. Every educator who has wrestled at all with the more fundamental problems of education is tempted to head his article as President Hutchins has recently done, "We are getting no brighter," and to admit that to the professional admonitions "Physician heal thyself" and "He saved others, himself he cannot save" might well be addded an admonition to the profession of teachers, "Know your own problems." If education is the answer to the need for a wider understanding of a complex world, why does education not understand the ramifications and complexities of the problems it creates in its own functioning?

In the present vogue for national and international planning three roads lie open: either we must get a firmer grip and a clearer understanding of the social consequences and implications of the educational machine we have built up; or, we may confess that it is too intricate a machine for this practical world of men of limited intelligence, drastically simplify it and fit it with a teleological gyroscopic iron-master, as Germany has done; or, in the spirit of Louis XIV, we may ride with it while the going is good and jump as the machine goes over the embankment.

The adjustment of supply to demand in the learned professions is one of the educational problems which American education is inclined to think beyond its capacity. Labor unions do not hesitate to fix the quota of apprentices in the various trades. Congress feels quite competent to plan the production

of hogs and steers, wheat and cotton. But the philosophy of university presidents regarding lawyers, doctors, architects, and engineers is akin to that of the President regarding electric current—you cannot have too much of a good thing regardless of what some one else sacrifices to produce it. In the years of unemployment in the great depression the Committee on Problems and Plans of the American Council on Education became concerned with this problem and appointed a committee of university presidents to report. With one eye on their legislatures the presidents unanimously reported that no curtailment of production was feasible or desirable. So, too, the Universities' Grants Committee of Great Britain recently reported with a sly smile:

> In the course of our visits we made a point of asking the various authorities whether they had considered this question of appropriate numbers. In most cases we received the answer that the question had been considered but by a curious coincidence it seemed that the ideal number was always a little in excess of the existing number.

Only when universities acknowledge that the placing of their professional graduates in gainful employment is partly their responsibility and give to the heads of their vocational guidance and placement divisions adequate voice in the institutional councils, may we hope for reasonable consideration of the problem of adjusting supply and demand within academic walls.

In the meantime, by the help of the Carnegie Corporation, a book has recently appeared which no university or college president can afford to miss. If he has not time to go through the whole three hundred odd pages he will find himself well repaid for the price of the book (Oxford Press, $3.50) if he reads the stimulating third chapter entitled "The Alleged Overcrowding of the Universities." Walter M. Kotschnig, the author, is already favorably known to educators as the author of *The University in a Changing World* (London, 1932). The new book, *Unemployment in the Learned Professions* (Oxford University Press, 1937), makes good its claim to be an "*international* study of occupational and educa-

tional planning." It is more than that; it is one of the first fruits and examples of what the learned world may expect from "the international mind," when the international mind is reinforced and implemented by personal international activity and the assistance of international institutions. The book should convince even President Hutchins that here and there are some who are getting brighter.

The author, as general secretary of the International Student Service, learned his subject not at second-hand but from first-hand contacts with university students and graduates of most of the European lands. As a trained scholar he deals competently and scientifically with statistics, but to him they are not merely statistics but the starving, questing, searching, aspiring spirits of the students he has helped, walked with, eaten with, and argued with in all lands. He has dealt not only with students individually but with student organizations and conventions and has listened as those most concerned have debated the nature and purpose of universities out of their own intimate knowledge. Speaking at least three languages fluently, he has had a tremendous advantage in all international gatherings. A native of Austria, married to a Welsh wife, resident first in Geneva and now in America, a Quaker from a Catholic land, *persona grata* to the International Labor Office, the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, the inner circles of Oxford, and the International Institute of Teachers College—if one were planning a curriculum to create the international mind, it would be difficult to improve on the factors which have contributed through the author's life to the writing of this book.

The book gives then an international view of the problem, but more than that, it gives a mature view. The book has been five years in preparation. As one reads he is surprised again and again by new turns in the path of the argument, new points of view, reconsiderations from new angles. The subject itself is exceedingly complex. It reminds one of what happens when one tries to stuff an inflated inner tube into an automobile tire; as soon as one portion is safely inside a new

bulge appears at some other point of the ring and when the bulges have all been safely stowed it will not serve because here it is pinched. Hence an immature book on the subject would only excite false hopes and mislead. It would be like so much New Deal planning which goes on the rocks because one intrinsic factor is ignored. If you begin with impatience because the author of this book does not give you a simple prescription to cure all the educational ills of maladjustment of supply and demand, you will close the book with a new comprehension of the magnitude of the problem and with new insight into the basic philosophies of human society and education.

The International Labor Office has been giving attention to unemployment in the professions since 1927 and has come to the conclusion "that the compilation of the necessary statistics encounters difficulties which are at present insuperable" (page 106). There is hope, however, in the progress made in such countries as Sweden, Holland, Poland, and Germany, all of which have set up government agencies to collect information and help in the solution of the problem. It is true that small and homogeneous countries have a simpler problem and authoritarian countries can use means not available to democracies, but if the trick of putting the inner tube inside the tire is discovered for the Ford it is only a matter of tools to make possible its application to the twenty-ton truck.

Charles R. Mann has long contended that you cannot do much about vocational guidance or even employment statistics until you agree on terminology and get some comparable definitions of jobs. The author adopts a rough and ready definition of a learned profession as "one which requires its members to obtain their training at an institution of higher learning." It is, of course, a begging of the question but it serves the immediate purpose and simplifies the problem. If, for purposes of this study, we should arbitrarily limit ourselves to those professions which require a capital investment of at least five to eight years of university study beyond secondary school we should still further simplify the problem

and at the same time magnify its seriousness by calling attention to the heavy investment which is at stake. Artisans, who can be trained for a given job, in six to eight weeks, as was shown in the war, are obviously not so great a problem in a changing society as professional men who have invested six or eight years in their professional training.

The author shows that so far as physical overcrowding of universities is concerned it is a problem which quickly cures itself. As a Japanese student said at the University of California, "Education means a place to sit down," and when students outnumber chairs or laboratory desks it is not long before either excess students disappear or chairs are increased. So a lack of laboratory material as, for example, corpses in the Rumanian medical schools or law books in American university law school libraries automatically reduces numbers. So the emphasis is shifting from inadequate teaching facilities to inadequate professional prospects.

The author does not agree with Dr. Flexner in rating lightly the function of universities in professional training. Rather, he agrees with Carr-Saunders (page 90), "It is in the field of professional education that the best work of the universities can be done today," and he quotes approvingly an admirable British description of university life as a community of living and learning (page 90). One of the best bits of the book is the author's own admirable definition in a single paragraph (page 91) of the tasks of higher education.

Dr. Kotschnig warns that the automatic checks which apply in the case of material equipment are not so effective in the matter of staff and that an increasing ratio of students to teachers may go on for some time unchecked and unobserved by administrative authorities with disastrous consequences to academic standards and the quality of work. The relation of student enrollment to national income, to technical advances, to economic depression, to war, to birth rates and longevity, to city and country population are all discussed to show how many factors must be considered in attempting to arrive at any theoretical norm. He quotes approvingly a statement of

Sir Michael Sadler (page 171), "The market for the product of any specialized education is limited by the economic conditions of the time," and warns with Mannheim that if a state permits overproduction of professional men so that university-trained men go unemployed the depreciation in the value of intellectual careers will react and produce a depreciation in the public mind of the valuation of intellect itself, and force or economic goods will be quoted higher as over against knowledge. To save themselves, therefore, the universities must in the long run save their products. In this matter as in others the mills of the gods grind slow but they grind exceeding fine. We need not fear that over-production will not correct itself. We only hope that by the use of reason some of the suffering and waste of human life and happiness incident to that correction may be avoided. "Where professions are overcrowded students ought to be warned or, if necessary, prevented from embarking on a career which will probably lead to disappointment and misery" (page 197). He discusses in turn examinations, higher fees, and quota restrictions as devices for reducing numbers and points out the evils they bring with them. He shows how quickly Germany was able to reduce the number of those preparing for the professions to the prewar scale, a reduction of 55 per cent within five years, and how far reaching are the consequences of this drastic curtailment.

The author is optimistic. "We hope to prove," he writes (page 3), "that by introducing new concepts into education, by reorganizing educational systems and practices in order to adapt them more fully to the needs of society, a great deal might be done to stem the rising flood of poorly qualified students and to achieve a better distribution over the various professions and vocations of young people preparing themselves for life." And again, "Education having found its own bearings can point the way to a happier and fuller life in a world which threatens to lose all sense of value and direction."

Some years ago the American Council devoted one of its annual meetings to a discussion of what agencies in America

are or ought to be responsible for the admission of candidates to the learned professions. It was one of the few occasions when the professions have faced together the problems which they share in common. It was probably the first time that theological schools in America had looked at these problems through the eyes of physicians and lawyers. It was brought out at that conference that the three factors that now have a voice in determining admission to the professions are the professions themselves through their professional organizations, the state through its control of licensure and the granting of degrees, and the universities through their control of admission to professional schools. It was also brought out that because state licensing boards are generally in the hands of technicians the neutral interests of the public at large, concerned solely with public welfare, were not adequately represented in the policy forming agencies. Therefore, the author does well to point out that in the United States should we determine at some time to set up a National Commission of Inquiry on Supply and Demand in the Learned Professions, it would be well to include in the membership of such a commission not only representatives of the three agencies primarily concerned but also economists, social scientists, and professional statisticians free from special interests in one or another of the professions, and themselves detached from professional schools.

Dr. Kotschnig does not belong to those who believe that curtailment of production is the way to the more abundant life: "Any rigid curtailment of educational facilities is pernicious to society and contrary to the interests of the professions" (page 38). Yet he does believe "that there should be some relation between the number of candidates trained and the probable demand." The solution lies in the creation of new professions, in greater differentiation of work within a profession, in a better spreading of the work of any profession among its members by shorter hours, and an increase in the demand for professional services by decreased costs.

Doubtless the studies of the National Occupational Confer-

ence, the activities of our National Youth Administration, the forthcoming report of the Youth Commission of the American Council, the results of the national Unemployment Census just completed, will provide much new material bearing on this subject. Whatever the facts these studies may reveal it is evident that the subject demands continuing study. Whether this study should in America be conducted by each profession independently, by the universities jointly, by some voluntary cooperative organization such as the American Council, or by some governmental agency such as the Department of Labor, Office of Education, or National Resources Board, or whether a continuing commission should be organized in connection with the Census Bureau, Civil Service Commission, Office of Education, or independently, might well be debated in educational and professional circles. Debated, the subject is sure to be in some form if the educational and professional world in any considerable measure read Dr. Kotschnig's fascinating book.

Educational Philosophy of Schools: Theory *vs.* Practice

A Report on One Phase of the Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards

By WALTER CROSBY EELLS

IN ONE of his stimulating essays on education, the late Sir John Adams, British educator who spent his last years in the United States, argued that "the principles" and "the practices" of education as taught in teacher training institutions were like oil and water—they hardly ever mixed. Often, indeed, "never the twain did meet." A significant illustration of this thesis, when applied to those who have left the institutions in which they studied, is afforded by an analysis of certain data collected by the Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards in its study of two hundred secondary schools in the United States.

In an article printed elsewhere M. L. Altstetter, of the staff of the Cooperative Study, has stated the method by which these two hundred schools were chosen, and has summarized the philosophy of education held by the administrators and staffs of these schools as judged by replies to a series of twenty-two groups of statements and suggestions.[1] The same schools also reported certain aspects of their educational philosophy and, in addition, of their actual practice, on a graphic scale of eighteen features. The purpose of this article is to analyze the replies compiled from these graphic scales for these two hundred schools.

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[1] M. L. Altstetter, "The Philosophy of Education of Two Hundred Secondary Schools," *Educational Administration and Supervision,* XXIII (September 1937), 409-25. For choice of schools and other general information concerning the Cooperative Study, see also Walter C. Eells, "The Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards," THE EDUCATIONAL RECORD, XVII (April 1936), 273-89.

Significance of a Philosophy of Education

The Cooperative Study feels very emphatically that a school cannot be studied satisfactorily nor judged fairly except in terms of its own philosophy, its expressed purposes and objectives, the nature of the pupils with which it has to deal, and the needs of the community which it serves. Each school has the right and duty to determine its own philosophy of education and its specific purposes and objectives. On these bases it is free to determine its own educational destiny—on these bases it should be judged.

Because of the importance attached to a basic philosophy, the Cooperative Study tried to secure from the cooperating schools statements of educational philosophy in three different forms. These were obtained in advance of the visit of a committee of three experienced educators who spent several days in each school studying and evaluating it in the light of its expressed philosophy and objectives. One request was for a statement of philosophy in general language without specific suggestion of topics or form; a second was for reactions to twenty-two groups of statements as referred to above; a third was for a statement in graphic form—the basis of this article.

Eighty-nine schools furnished statements of the first type; all of the schools furnished information of the second type; one hundred and ninety-nine of the schools furnished information by means of the graphic scales.

The Graphic Form Used

The graphic scale used was adapted from one prepared by J. T. Giles, supervisor of high schools in the Wisconsin State Department of Public Instruction. It is reproduced as Figure I with the addition of the "theory" and "practice" profiles for one of the schools. It will be noted that this graphic scale consists of eighteen five-point component scales, characterized by pairs of terms representing contrasting aspects of suggested phases of the schools' philosophy of education. In general these are arranged so that the extreme left-hand position (scale value 1) represents what is com-

GRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF PHILOSOPHY

Each of the pairs of terms below represent contrasting aspects of certain phases of the school's philosophy of education. The scale of values, represented graphically by the connecting line, is to be used to indicate the relative emphasis given to the contrasting ideas. On each line write "T" to indicate the theoretical position—where the administration or staff thinks it should be, and write "P" to indicate where the school or its program really is.

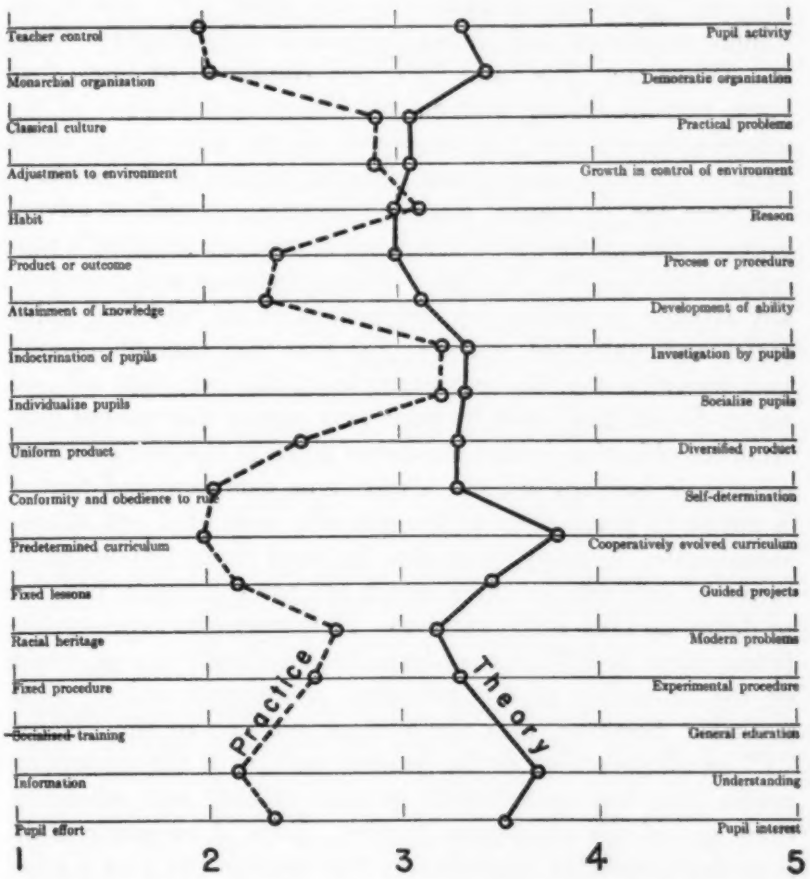

FIG. I. PRACTICE AND THEORY IN ONE SECONDARY SCHOOL PLOTTED ON THE GRAPHIC ANALYSIS BLANK

monly considered a conservative viewpoint, the extreme right-hand position (scale value 5) what is commonly considered a progressive viewpoint. Whether or not this conservative-progressive distinction holds on all the scales in the judgment of all educators, it is noteworthy, as reported later, that over 97 per cent place theory, the desirable goal, at the right of practice. The scale provides for recording two beliefs or judgments by each school—"theory," indicated by the letter "T," where the administration or staff thinks the school should be; and "practice," indicated by the letter "P," where the administration or staff thinks the school or its program really is. When the "T's" and "P's" are connected by lines, they form two interesting and quickly interpreted profiles of the school's theory and practice—and of the gap which exists between the two—in eighteen different phases of the work.

There are, of course, distinct limitations as well as advantages to this method of attempting to measure a school's educational philosophy. The pure philosopher may well repudiate any attempt to reduce the abstractions of his field to graphic scales and statistical analysis. He may feel that philosophy and statistics are the best example of the fact that oil and water do not mix—that by their very nature they cannot mix. Another objection is that the terms given at the two extremes of a scale perhaps are not always true contrasts and that it is unfair to place them at the opposite ends of a one dimensional scale. In many cases, too, the brief characterizations in terms of only two or three words are not sufficiently positive to define an idea with exactness. They may often convey different ideas to different readers. Such ambiguities cast doubt on the reliability of the individual component scales. It is probable, however, that the average position of the "P" or "T" on all the scales, or the general position of the connecting profile line, has considerably greater validity and reliability than any of the component factors. Even if no single scale is perfectly reliable, undoubtedly the average can give a relatively satisfactory idea of the degree of progressiveness characteristic of a school. Some evidence is available, also, to

show that in some cases the instructions were not understood, or the symbols were carelessly placed. The graphs probably may be used with some confidence as indications of tendencies if not of accurate placements.

In spite of these acknowledged limitations the graphic scale has proved of distinct value (1) for securing a quick general picture of the educational philosophy of a school, (2) for securing a similar picture of educational practice in a school, (3) for presenting vividly the gap in the school between theory and practice, (4) for comparing one school with another for relative progressiveness in theory or practice or both, (5) for comparing groups of schools—public *vs.* private, large *vs.* small, etc., (6) for stimulating discussion in staff groups. The last-named purpose has proved to be one of the most important by-products of the use of the scale by school staffs during the past school year. Especially in those schools in which the principals had each teacher mark one of the scales and then combined them for a composite graph, they found them a very fruitful means for stimulating lively and helpful discussions of definitions, points of view, philosophies, and practices in the school. Evidence is available that in almost half of the schools, teachers as well as administrators participated in the formulation and expression of the school's philosophy of education.

An interesting sidelight on the care and reliability with which the scale was used is furnished by an error which inadvertently appears in the printed form as reproduced in Figure I. The third scale from the bottom originally read "Specialized training—general education." Through an error in copying, this was printed as "socialized training" instead of "specialized training," destroying almost completely the true linear contrast intended. In about a quarter of the schools this inconsistency was noted in some way or other, a number of principals suggesting the substitution of the word "specialized," and others leaving this scale blank, or querying its meaning.

In the computation of averages reported in this paper,

scores on this erroneous scale were omitted, averages in every case being based upon the seventeen correctly printed scales.

Are Schools Progressive in Theory?

To what extent are schools, and the educators responsible for their administration, progressive in their educational theory and philosophy? This question is best answered briefly, as far as the Cooperative Study scale is concerned, by a distribution table showing the average position of the "T" for each school. This is done in Table I.

Table I.—Average Score for Educational Theory on Scales of Conservative-Progressiveness for 199 Secondary Schools

Range	Number of Schools
2.00 – 2.49	5
2.50 – 2.99	10
3.00 – 3.49	59
3.50 – 3.99	83
4.00 – 4.49	40
4.50 – 4.99	2
Total	199
Mean score	3.62

Recalling that the minimum possible score is 1.00, and that the maximum is 5.00, it may be noted that only fifteen of the schools claim to be at the left of the middle point on the scale for educational theory. None are found in the first quarter, from 1.00 to 2.00. The great majority of the schools may be characterized as sanely progressive in their educational thinking, almost three-quarters of them being in the third quarter. Over a fifth, however, are found in the highest quarter, from 4.00 to 5.00. Relatively few, however, are extremists. Only thirty-one schools marked any one of the eighteen component scales at the extreme right (5.00), and eleven of these schools so characterized only a single scale in each case. Only one school marked "T's" at the extreme right of more than half of the scales. The principal of this school

(a public high school in the middle west) placed "T's" at the extreme 5.00 position on fourteen of the eighteen scales, giving him an average score of 4.71, the highest score found.

Are Schools Progressive in Practice?

The average position of the "P's" as judgments of educational practice is shown in Table II. It should be remarked that the rating of the actual practice in a school by the principal or by the staff and principal was checked by the visiting committee of educators and in many cases these self-ratings were materially modified by this committee.

Table II.—Average Score for Educational Practice on Scale of Conservative-Progressiveness for 199 Secondary Schools

Range	Number of Schools
1.50 – 1.99	9
2.00 – 2.49	24
2.50 – 2.99	93
3.00 – 3.49	67
3.50 – 3.99	2
Total	199
Mean Score	2.83

The situation is quite different from that presented in Table I for educational theory. Nine of the schools are found in the lowest quarter of the scale of progressiveness, and almost two-thirds of them are below the middle point. None are found in the highest quarter, the maximum being a score of 3.91 for the same middle western school that had the highest score for theory.

Comparison of Theory and Practice

Information has now been presented making it possible to consider more intelligently the extent to which the oil of theory and the water of practice vary—to consider the question of whether the twain do meet.

The situation is well illustrated by the profiles of a public high school in New England which are shown in Figure I. Practice is reported as slightly exceeding theory in progressive character on one scale (habit—reason). Slightly over half of the schools placed at least one "P" to the right of a "T," but the average number of such placements for the entire group of schools was less than two per school. For the school of Figure I, on four scales the lag of practice behind theory is slight, on the others it is substantial, reaching a maximum of 1.8 scale points in one scale (predetermined curriculum—co-operatively evolved curriculum). The average position of the "T" profile is at 3.34, that of the "P" profile at 2.52, with a difference of 0.82, only slightly above the average for all schools as given in Table III.

TABLE III.—DIFFERENCES IN AVERAGE SCORES ON EDUCATIONAL THEORY AND PRACTICE FOR 199 SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Range of Differences	Number of Schools
2.00 – 2.24	1
1.75 – 1.99	6
1.50 – 1.74	7
1.25 – 1.49	21
1.00 – 1.24	32
0.75 – 0.99	32
0.50 – 0.74	37
0.25 – 0.49	36
0.00 – 0.24	23
−0.25 – 0.00	4
Total	199
Mean difference	0.79

There were four schools (two public and two private) in which the principals claimed that practice was slightly in advance of their expressed theory, but the differences were slight (in three cases less than 0.10, and in the other only 0.23), and there is some reason to question whether the instructions for marking the scale were clearly understood in all of these cases. In two other schools the averages on theory and prac-

tice were identical. In all others there was a gap between the two, the average amount being 0.80, four-fifths of a scale unit, or one-fifth of the entire length of the scale. The maximum difference found was for a large public school whose staff reported positions in theory which averaged 2.90, and positions in practice which averaged 1.72. The visiting committee, however, revised these statements of practice on all scales leaving a net score of 0.76 making a difference of 2.14 between theory and practice. Distribution of differences for the entire group of schools is shown in Table III.

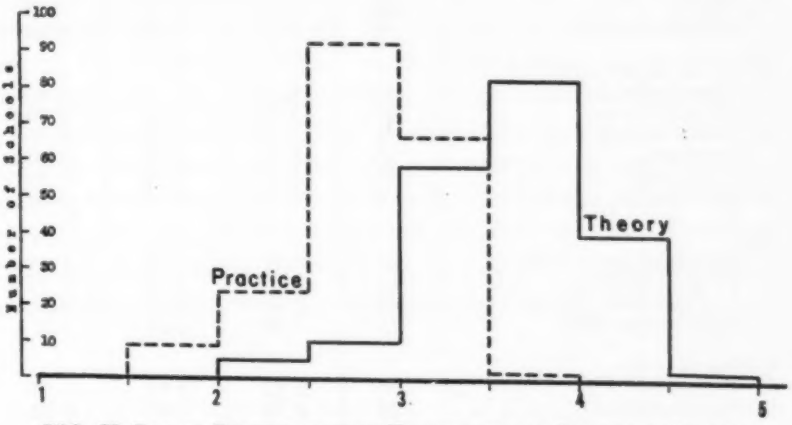

FIG. II. LAG OF PRACTICE BEHIND THEORY FOR 199 SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Differences between theory and practice are shown in another form in Figure II, based upon the distributions of Table I and Table II.

In general there appears to be a distinct lag of practice behind theory. This is quite to be expected. When practice catches up with theory, it is probably time for an advance in theory. It is another case where "a man's reach should exceed his grasp."

GROUP COMPARISONS

Results reported thus far are for all schools considered as a single group. Interesting differences appear, however, when the schools are grouped by type of control, by regional asso-

ciations, by size, and by accreditation. Average scores on the scales for the schools grouped on these bases are shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV.—AVERAGE SCORES FOR EDUCATIONAL THEORY AND PRACTICE ON CONSERVATIVE-PROGRESSIVENESS SCALE FOR SELECTED GROUP OF SCHOOLS

Group	Number of Schools	Theory	Practice	Difference
ALL SCHOOLS	199	3.62	2.83	0.79
CONTROL:				
Public	168	3.70	2.85	0.85
Private	31	3.22	2.76	0.46
REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS:				
New England	19	3.59	2.94	0.65
Middle States	23	3.55	2.86	0.69
North Central	88	3.70	2.85	0.85
Southern	43	3.55	2.69	0.86
Northwest	17	3.55	2.86	0.69
Western	9	3.63	2.95	0.68
SIZE:				
Very large (over 1,000)	28	3.81	2.80	1.01
Large (500–999)	32	3.61	2.84	0.77
Medium (200–499)	64	3.59	2.89	0.70
Small (below 200)	75	3.58	2.81	0.77
ACCREDITATION:				
Accredited	174	3.61	2.84	0.77
Non-accredited	25	3.74	2.82	0.92

The public schools, as measured by these scales, are distinctly more progressive in educational theory than are the private schools, but the differences in practice between the two groups is much smaller. No striking differences are found in the different parts of the country, but the North Central area appears to be slightly more progressive in theory and the Western and New England areas in practice than the other sections. There is perhaps some tendency for the larger schools to be more progressive in theory but slightly less in practice than the smaller ones. The small group of non-accredited schools are slightly more progressive in theory but less progressive in practice than the accredited schools. On

the whole, however, the agreement between groups considered from these various standpoints is much greater than their differences. In educational theory only one group, the private schools, vary from the group average by more than 0.25. In educational practice no group shows even this large a variation. Differences between theory and practice show greater variation, varying from 1.01 for the very large schools, to only 0.46 for the private schools.

Conclusion

The graphic scale used experimentally by the Cooperative Study has furnished the means of securing an approximate measurement of one phase of educational philosophy—the degree of progressiveness of educational thinking and its comparison with educational practice in two hundred representative secondary schools. It has proved to be useful for securing advance information concerning a particular school, for making comparisons between groups of schools, and for stimulating thought and discussion of the viewpoints involved on the part of the administrative heads and staff members of the secondary schools in which the scale has been used.

Realism in Higher Education

A Report of the 1937 Sophomore Testing Program

By RUTH E. ECKERT

FOR almost two decades the theory of collegiate education in America has been under close examination, both by the philosopher and by the technician. Analyses of aims, as well as searching studies of procedures and outcomes, have pointed unmistakably to the fact that the most loosely defined unit in the entire educational system is the liberal arts college. "Confusion in purpose," states President Hutchins of the University of Chicago in surveying the situation, "is today the most striking fact about higher learning in America."

The Present Situation

This lack of a set pattern has been a veritable charter for experimentation to many institutions, with the result that they have made striking progress in defining objectives appropriate to their local situations and in providing educational experiences that are relevant to the needs of their students. But while freedom from regimentation has contributed immeasurably to the "rediscovery" of individual differences which has occurred within the last few years, it remains true that the colleges that have done such significant pioneering constitute a select but small vanguard. For the most part, liberal college objectives have been in a state of flux, oscillating between the prolongation of secondary education and the wholesale adoption of the aims and techniques of the professional school. Notwithstanding the need in the social order for the perspective and intellectual balance which the college is peculiarly fitted to supply, statements of goals remain amorphous, lacking convincing power either to the world outside the campus or to the students themselves.

Reflections of the undefined nature of the aims of higher

education are found in the indeterminateness of content and the uncertainty of procedure frequently encountered at the college level. Studies of high school-college overlapping have consistently indicated a lack of articulation between the two administrative units which is so pronounced that materials covered in many junior college courses are already known by the superior high school student. Not only is a substantial amount of time lost, a grave consideration in an educational system that has prolonged the days of more elementary tutelage well beyond the needs of able students, but the challenge of unexplored areas is too often withheld from the very individuals to whom society must look in the future for guidance on new and critical issues. Distinctly hopeful signs in the current confusion are the vigorous attacks that individual colleges are making on the problem of differentiating offerings to meet the whole range of talent presented in their classes, and the cooperative attitudes manifested by both the secondary school and the college in joint studies of this important common problem.

Investigations of the significance of credit status, curriculum organization, and special teaching methods have likewise tended to yield results that must be disheartening to all who look for a single inclusive solution of the ills that beset higher education. Within the classifications usually adopted in grouping students for teaching, the widest variability in actual learning ability has been demonstrated. Many students achieve at levels so far above or below that of the typical individual in their classes that only by a disastrous leveling process can a common denominator be found for instruction. The corollary of the surprising spread in talent within any given class has been the small degree of difference that exists between groups that vary in official credit or training status. Comprehensive test results, supplemented by data obtained from painstaking observations, reveal a state of affairs that constitutes at the same time a serious cause for concern and an almost unparalleled opportunity to individualize education. The fact that the shibboleths in which trust had formerly been

placed, often with the approval of official accrediting groups, are rapidly and deservedly losing sanction, clears the way to a more fundamental and thorough-going approach to the problems of higher education.

A New Orientation

If the situation is viewed realistically, as numerous colleges are doing throughout the country with decidedly encouraging indications of success, the logical outcome would seem to be a point of view which places primary emphasis on the critical selection and study of individual students rather than on multitudinous schemes for remaking, *en masse,* the educational order. Teaching is a highly personal relationship. Until we know with some precision the human equation that underlies every instructional effort and until we recognize humbly that what the student brings with him is of greatest portent and often exceeds what we can offer him, there is little hope for emerging from the present-day chaos in higher education. Basic to every constructive proposal for reorganization must be an exploration and discovery of the potentialities and achievements of the students for whom the procedure is designed.

While this significant task of adapting instruction and treatment to individual needs should ideally begin in the earliest years of education, only those students who deviate markedly from average levels of performance are apt to receive appropriate attention in the elementary or secondary school. This restriction is an almost inevitable consequence of the mass instruction techniques which the current theories of teaching and administrative organization of these earlier units have involved. Consequently this condition places squarely on the college the seriously neglected function of individual guidance. Not only is there need to know where a particular student ranks with respect to other individuals on measures of general educability, but more analytic studies must be initiated to detect areas of special strength or weakness for each individual. At the present time the college appears to

be in the most advantageous position for differentiating treatment to meet the actual diversity that exists in student interests and abilities.

One Suggested Approach

The problem of studying the potentialities of students and organizing effective programs of guidance is so important in its implications that it merits investigation from a number of viewpoints. The present report, which describes the sixth annual cooperative sophomore testing program sponsored by the Committee on Measurement and Guidance of the American Council on Education, is presented as illustrative of one method that colleges have found helpful in understanding their students. This type of concerted attack, made last spring by ninety-four colleges throughout the country, does not aim to dictate or suggest any particular objectives for the college nor to evaluate how well the individual colleges have succeeded in their purposes. It simply indicates a willingness to look beyond the accepted criteria of course completion, and to view the educational process in terms of the students' understanding of some of the basic concepts and principles indispensable to critical or creative thought. Such information should provoke experimentation and imaginative consideration of the problems of learning in these institutions. As a result, the individual colleges may undertake significant pioneering and allow faculty and students freedom to try new ways, without danger of unwittingly sacrificing certain values now attained by more formal instruction.

As indicated in earlier reports, this program of cooperative examining was placed at the sophomore level not only because the more general work of the college is ordinarily completed at that point but also because a critical need exists for better bases for guiding students with respect to later differentiated training. The tests chosen have been admittedly imperfect in many respects. They do not cover the whole gamut of culture nor appraise certain qualities of intellectual ingenuity and imagination which may mark off the student who

is competent to blaze new trails from those who follow ploddingly in the old by-ways. But at least they represent broad-gauged examinations in which a consistent attempt has been made to emphasize a reasoned understanding of materials usually included in junior college academic programs. Since experimental studies show that a significant positive relationship exists among the various abilities of man, the results may also be accepted as at least partial indicators of certain less tangible values not measured directly by these tests.

Sufficient flexibility has been provided in the organization of the sophomore testing program so that individual institutions may choose those examinations that are consonant with their own objectives and that supplement other types of information which they already possess concerning their students. Among the most frequently elected examinations were those in English, literary acquaintance, general culture, and contemporary affairs. Many colleges supplemented their examining programs with tests in general science, general mathematics, chemistry, physics, and foreign languages.[1] Practically all of these tests were used in sufficiently large quantity to be fairly representative of the American college situation. This collective approach has made possible the preparation of norms that afford each college a broad background for appraising the performance of individual students and of entire college classes.

The Fact of Variability

That students who have spent approximately the same amount of time in formal training, and who are closely similar with respect to credit status, differ almost inconceivably in their understanding of important concepts and in acquaintance with major cultural developments is evidenced by the results given in Table I. This tremendous variability exists for every function measured, being as apparent for fields such

[1] For a description of the scope and content of each of these examinations, see *Cooperative Achievement Tests, November 1937*. A copy of this announcement may be obtained by addressing the Cooperative Test Service, 15 Amsterdam Avenue, New York City.

as English, where a large element of common training may be assumed, as it is for areas where elective courses probably play a determining role. And these results are more arresting in view of the fact that the tests were administered at the end of the sophomore year. The populations represented here are those of persisting students alone—the very lowest individuals who gained entrance have presumably been eliminated; and university instruction has operated for two academic years. Yet, taking the English field as illustrative, some students in a college sophomore class actually rank below the average eighth-grade pupil in their command of the fundamental techniques of written expression. A quarter of the entire group included in this testing project falls below the typical twelfth-grade student with respect to mastery of these basic language elements. Unless a more realistic method is adopted for awarding college degrees, in another two years many of these students will have augumented the illiterate contingent in the baccalaureate ranks.

But probably even more important from the standpoint of social implications is the large group of superior students identified by these tests. That individuals of this intellectual caliber have so long sat in classes whose atmosphere is dominated by much less able students indicates how far short all our educational schemes fall from the ideal of "individualization" emphasized in many statements of aims. Results of this type too frequently define the lost opportunity of the college, revealing the gifted student who has gone comparatively unrecognized until a broad-gauged examination has thrown into clear relief the actual extent of his superiority.

This wide variability exists not only in the collective group of sophomores included in this testing project but also within the student body of each individual college. The familiar story that has been reiterated in every investigation made on a regional or national scale is brought home afresh by the present results. Even among colleges which pride themselves on their rigorous selection of entering students, certain individuals exhibit serious intellectual handicaps. On the other

TABLE I.—NATIONAL PERCENTILE TABLES FOR TESTS GIVEN IN APRIL AND MAY 1937 TO COLLEGE SOPHOMORES[1]

	History and Social Science	Foreign Literature	Fine Arts	Total General Culture	English Usage	Spelling	Vocabulary	Total English	Literary Acquaintance	Contemporary Affairs			General Science	General Mathematics	Chemistry C Total[2]	
										Part I	Part II	Total				
No. of Cases..	5,149	5,149	5,149	5,149	6,129	6,129	6,129	6,129	4,653	4,466	4,466	4,466	3,885	382	9,504	
No. of Colleges	52	52	52	52	71	71	71	71	58	51	51	51	43	12	162	
Mean....	72.5	41.3	42.0	155.8	59.2	57.2	61.0	59.8	60.8	47.4	38.7	86.1	55.8	60.9	94.9	
Sigma....	36.0	24.3	23.4	72.5	9.8	10.4	10.7	9.6	11.8	23.7	20.2	39.0	24.1	28.2	32.6	
Percentiles[3]																Percentiles
100	219	218	180	554	96	83	100	89	111	135	127	249	155	144	191	100
99	172	118	117	375	82	79	84	81	90	113	96	196	129	130	169	99
98	160	105	103	337	79	78	81	79	87	106	88	183	117	122	163	98
97	150	97	96	317	77	75	80	77	84	101	83	173	109	118	159	97
96	145	92	91	304	76	74	79	76	83	96	80	166	105	113	155	96
95	139	88	87	292	—	73	78	75	81	93	77	159	102	110	152	95
94	135	84	82	282	75	70	77	74	80	90	74	155	99	107	149	94
93	131	80	79	273	74	—	—	—	79	87	72	1[illegible]	96	104	147	93
92	128	78	76	265	73	69	76	73	78	85	69	147	94	103	145	92
91	125	76	74	258	—	—	—	—	77	83	68	143	91	101	142	91
90	122	74	72	251	72	—	75	72	76	81	66	139	89	100	140	90
88	117	70	69	241	71	68	74	71	74	77	63	134	85	97	137	88
86	113	66	66	232	70	—	73	70	73	74	61	129	82	94	133	86
84	109	63	63	224	69	67	72	—	72	72	59	124	79	92	130	84
82	105	61	60	216	68	—	71	69	71	69	57	120	76	91	127	82
80	102	59	58	208	67	66	70	68	70	67	54	117	74	89	125	80
75	94	54	54	195	65	65	69	67	69	62	51	110	69	83	118	75
70	88	50	50	183	64	63	67	65	67	58	47	103	65	76	112	70

65	82	46	47	173	63	61	66	64	65	54	44	97	61	71	106	65
60	78	43	44	164	61	60	64	62	63	50	41	91	58	66	102	60
55	73	40	41	154	60	59	62	61	62	47	39	86	55	61	97	55
50	68	37	38	145	59	57	60	60	60	43	36	81	53	57	92	50
45	64	34	36	137	58	56	59	59	59	41	34	76	50	53	88	45
40	59	32	33	129	57	55	58	57	57	38	32	72	47	50	84	40
35	55	29	31	121	55	54	56	56	56	35	29	67	45	46	80	35
30	51	27	28	112	54	53	55	55	54	32	27	62	42	42	76	30
25	46	24	26	104	52	52	54	54	53	30	24	57	39	38	71	25
20	41	22	23	95	51	51	52	52	52	27	21	52	36	34	66	20
18	39	20	22	91	50	50	51	51	51	26	20	50	34	33	64	18
16	37	19	21	87	49	49	50	—	50	24	18	47	33	31	62	16
14	35	18	19	83	—	48	—	50	49	23	17	45	31	30	59	14
12	32	16	18	79	48	46	49	49	48	22	16	43	30	28	56	12
10	30	15	16	74	47	44	48	48	47	20	14	40	28	26	54	10
9	28	14	15	72	—	43	47	47	46	19	13	39	27	25	52	9
8	27	13	14	69	46	42	—	46	45	18	—	37	26	24	50	8
7	25	12	13	66	45	41	46	45	44	17	12	35	25	23	49	7
6	23	11	12	63	44	40	45	44	43	16	11	33	24	22	47	6
5	21	10	11	60	43	37	44	43	41	15	10	32	22	21	45	5
4	19	9	10	55	42	36	43	42	40	14	9	30	21	20	42	4
3	16	7	7	49	41	33	41	41	39	12	7	26	19	19	39	3
2	13	6	5	42	40	31	39	39	37	10	6	22	15	17	35	2
1	9	4	2	32	37	26	35	36	35	7	3	17	11	14	29	1

[1] These scales are based upon returns from all sophomores tested, regardless of curricular division or type of institution, for whom reports were sent to the Cooperative Test Service. Many colleges used different combinations of tests, hence the numbers of cases and of colleges vary from column to column.

[2] The chemistry results were obtained from a special testing program, sponsored by the American Chemical Society and reported in detail in the *Journal of Chemical Education*, December 1937.

[3] Each score in each column shows the upper score limit of the percentile indicated at the extreme left and right of the line. For example, the bottom entry in the history and social studies column shows that all scores of 9 or below have a percentile value of 1; all scores from 10 to 13, inclusive, have a percentile value of 2; and all scores above 172 have a percentile value of 100. In the case of the English and literary acquaintance tests, the new system of scaled scores has been employed rather than raw scores. The mean and sigma of the scores and the number of colleges involved in each column are shown at the top of each column.

hand, the colleges which have received no official status by accrediting bodies often present a few students who rank among the most select individuals in the entire country. This indicates the imperative need of some carefully defined method for reporting the achievement of both transfer and graduating students. The one fact most definitely emphasized by these results is that the college today does not serve a homogeneous ability group, but that well-nigh illiterate and extraordinarily brilliant students have been formal collaborators in the intellectual adventure to which the liberal college is committed. Each participating college is faced with the question of whether this range in ability is desirable and, if an unrestricted rather than a highly selective policy is adopted, what modifications in curriculum and instruction are needful to serve so widely varied a group.

Differentials in Performance

That students vary so definitely in their achievement on comprehensive tests raises the critical question as to whether any explanation can be found for this diversity in outcome. The present analyses are not designed to furnish any definitive answer to this problem. They simply describe a method whereby each individual college may study for itself the latent abilities of its students and may learn, in a more analytic fashion than subjective judgments allow, the extent to which the college is contributing effectively to their students' education.

The first and probably the more important single item of information that the individual college requires is an indication of the general character of its student population, in order that the whole program of the institution may be planned intelligently to suit the needs of its particular student body. Colleges that have cooperated in this testing project are afforded this type of widened perspective by the data presented in Table II. Here averages for colleges as a whole are distributed on the same percentile scale previously used for re-

TABLE II.—DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGE SOPHOMORE AVERAGES[1]

National Sophomore Percentiles	History and Social Science	Foreign Literature	Fine Arts	Total General Culture	English Usage	Spelling	Vocabulary	Total English	Literary Acquaintance	Contemporary Affairs			General Science	General Mathematics	National Sophomore Percentiles
										I	II	Total			
98–100															98–100
96– 97			1												96– 97
94– 95					1		1								94– 95
92– 93						1			1		1	1			92– 93
88– 91	1	3	1	2	2			1		2	1			1	88– 91
84– 87	3		1	1	2		1		2			1	2		84– 87
79– 83		3	2	3	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	3		79– 83
73– 78	2	2	4	2	3		3	4	3	5	5	5	2	1	73– 78
66– 72	4	4	7	5	5	6	4	9	7	6	6	5	5		66– 72
58– 65	12	17	10	9	14	11	14	9	5	4	9	9	8	5	58– 65
50– 57	18	12	11	19	10	15	12	9	12	11	7	6	10	2	50– 57
42– 49	9	10	11	10	11	12	17	14	15	9	7	5	5	2	42– 49
34– 41	6	7	7	6	12	11	11	11	5	8	8	12	4		34– 41
27– 33	3	3	4	3	5	6		3	4	4	4	5			27– 33
21– 26	2	1	2		2	6	1	5	3	1	1	1	2		21– 26
16– 20	1			1	2		5	1					1		16– 20
12– 15				1		1	1	2						1	12– 15
8– 11	1				1						1				8– 11
6– 7			1										1		6– 7
4– 5															4– 5
2– 3															2– 3
1															1
Total No. of Colleges..	62	62	62	62	71	71	71	71	58	51	51	51	43	12	

[1] The sophomore means of all colleges for which data were available are here distributed in terms of national sophomore percentiles. The percentile scale has been altered, so that the intervals correspond approximately to a sigma scale.

porting individual student achievement.[2] Taking again the English results as illustrative, there are certain colleges in which the average student is surpassed by almost nine-tenths of all American college sophomores included in this study. At the other extreme are institutions whose typical student already possesses greater proficiency than over 90 per cent of these tested sophomores. And, as pointed out before, these distinctions do not follow neatly any present scheme of school classification: colleges with unusual talent resources may not appear on accredited lists, whereas institutions of accepted prestige may actually attract a rather low group from the standpoint of academic potentiality. This implies no evaluation of the contribution of the college, but it certainly suggests that a different type of intellectual endeavor should be stimulated among students who place, in general, close to the ninetieth percentile, as contrasted with those whose average ranking is about the equivalent of a tenth percentile score.

If the college intends to approach its task realistically, these results must be viewed not only in terms of the indicated general level of performance but also in terms of the relative emphasis shown on certain areas. Because averages represent typical levels of performance, they too frequently become complacently accepted reference points. Colleges that have stressed the goal of participation in current political and social affairs might well be disturbed if the average score for their students on the Contemporary Affairs Test is not far above that found in institutions that are centering their efforts on other objectives. If these outcomes fall below what the college considers acceptable for its students, a need is indicated for sharpening the focus of college instruction and activities on individual goals that are really feasible and that will actually serve the life needs of the pupils as individuals.

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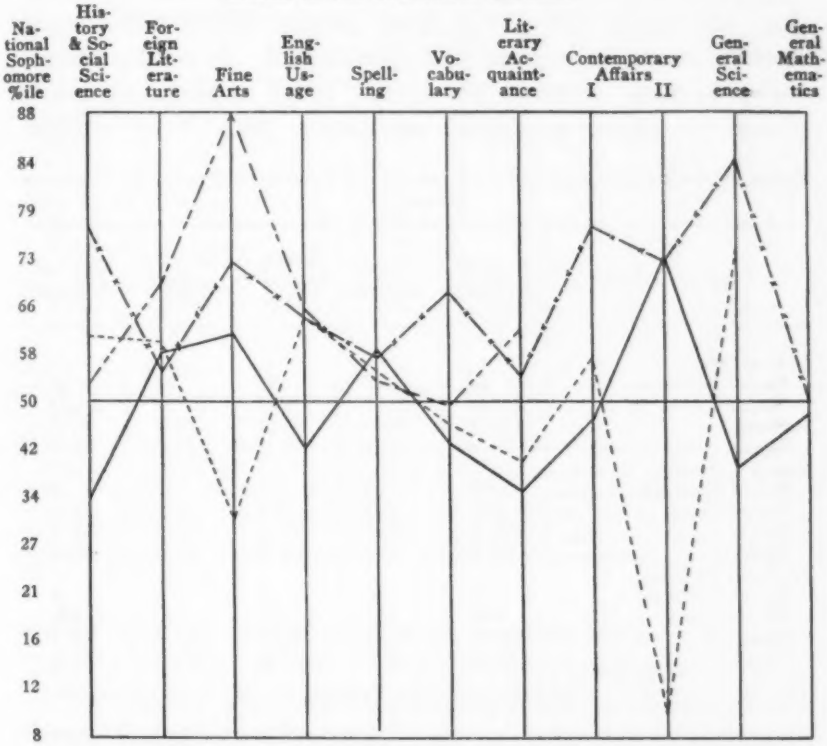
[2] The high correlations (usually of the order of .80 or greater) that prevail between averages on these tests shown by the same colleges in successive years are interesting evidence that the difference shown in Table II possess stability and therefore merit attention.

An illustration of these important differences in emphasis from institution to institution is presented in Chart I. Such relative strengths and weaknesses, evidenced by a college class as a whole, deserve careful study in the light of the background of the students and the avowed aims and resources of the institution. The ideal is certainly not a monotonous mediocrity or dead-level in performance from one field to

CHART I.—VARIATIONS IN PERFORMANCE ON THE DIFFERENT TESTS INCLUDED IN THE SOPHOMORE PROGRAM



Explanation. Results for four colleges are presented to illustrate the differences in emphasis discovered among participating institutions. In each instance the number of cases is approximately the same for the various tests, so that the variations cannot be attributed to selection within the group. While this chart is based entirely on percentiles, the scale has been altered to correspond roughly to a sigma scale, so that vertical distances are approximately comparable. The sigma scale is derived from the percentile scale.

another, but a recognition that distinctive patterns are desirable, provided that they grow out of a functional conception of the relation of an individual college to the social scene.

Conclusions as to the relative standing of the three types of colleges represented in Table III cannot be drawn because the sampling of teachers colleges and junior colleges is admittedly not representative. It is worth noting, however, that for these populations no significant differences were found, with respect either to averages or measures of variability. This does not imply that these three groups would show equal status if more institutions had participated. It simply affirms the previously stressed point that some institutions, often placed in lower academic categories, may have student

TABLE III.—COLLEGE SOPHOMORE RESULTS FOR INDICATED TESTS AND TYPES OF COLLEGES

Type of College	General Culture	Total English	Literary Acquaintance	Contemporary Affairs	General Science
Liberal Arts:					
No. of Colleges	42	47	35	32	31
No. of Cases	3,842	4,189	3,034	2,760	2,724
Mean	156.7	59.9	61.3	85.3	55.3
Sigma	75.0	9.8	12.2	37.9	25.4
Junior Colleges:					
No. of Colleges	14	14	15	10	6
No. of Cases	423	383	303	376	125
Mean	151.9	60.7	60.9	92.7	63.1
Sigma	58.2	8.7	11.3	35.1	25.6
Teachers Colleges:					
No. of Colleges	6	10	8	9	6
No. of Cases	884	1,557	1,316	1,330	1,036
Mean	153.8	59.2	59.7	85.7	56.1
Sigma	67.4	9.2	11.0	42.2	20.5

potentialities that equal or exceed those of a traditional liberal arts college.

If the type of college the student has attended affords a very imperfect clue as to why he achieves as he does, a more promising avenue of exploration would seem to lie in the length of training he has had in a particular field. The one area in which this problem can be investigated most effectively is that of foreign languages, since it represents sequential sub-

ject matter in which study ordinarily extends over several years. Table IV, which presents averages for foreign language groups, classified according to previous preparation, shows very clearly two facts. In the first place, there is a definite

TABLE IV.—FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEST RESULTS FOR INDICATED CREDIT GROUPS, INCLUDING STUDENTS FROM ALL FOUR COLLEGE CLASSES[1]

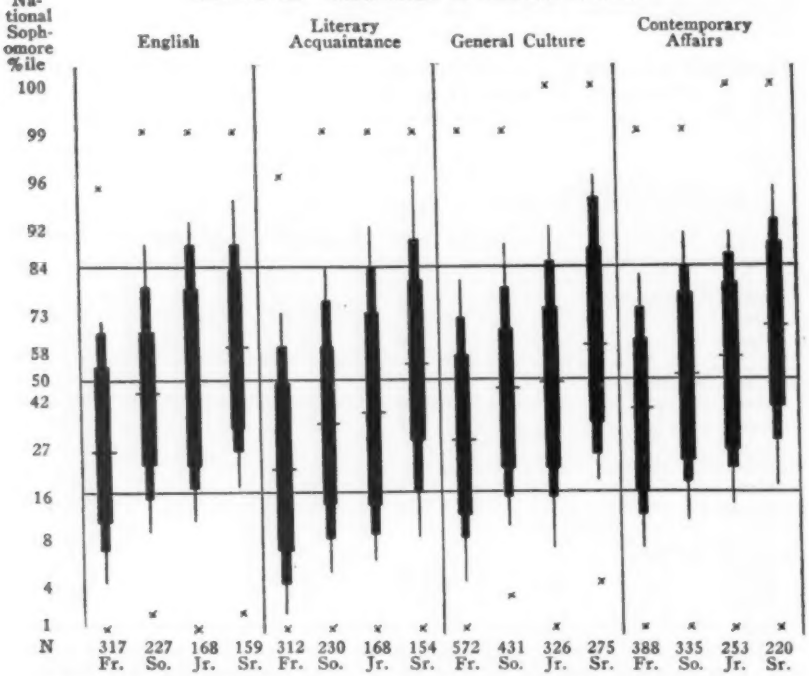
Language Field	Length of College Training in Subject			
	One Year	Two Years	Three Years	Four Years
French (50 colleges)				
Mean	56.7	68.8	76.5	81.0
Sigma	9.8	9.7	9.6	9.5
German (40 colleges)				
Mean	55.4	67.1	74.2	79.5
Sigma	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7
Spanish (25 colleges)				
Mean	54.5	66.4	73.8	78.9
Sigma	9.5	9.6	9.8	9.9
Latin (35 colleges)				
Mean	57.4	69.3	78.7	87.3
Sigma	9.1	9.3	9.7	10.0

[1] The number of colleges using language tests in connection with their sophomore programs was more limited than for the other examinations. For this reason, the data obtained for these colleges were supplemented by much more extensive materials available for liberal arts students in general. Norms for three types of colleges on these tests are reported in *The Cooperative Achievement Tests: A Booklet of Norms.*

gain evidenced with each advance in credit status. Although part of this may be attributed to the increasing selection of students in the upper years, instruction has had some efficacy. Upon the foreign language departments in each individual college must devolve the problem of deciding whether the differences from class to class are of the magnitude one might reasonably expect from this amount of additional study. The more salient fact shown by these data, however, is the substantial overlapping among these credit groups. Some students with only a semester of study in a field are the peers of those with two or more years of class instruction. This

emphasizes the fallacy of any standard based on "time-spent" units.

CHART II.—COMPARISON OF COLLEGE CLASSES



Explanation. Graphs of scores on indicated tests for freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors in colleges that tested all four classes. While this chart is based entirely on percentiles, the scale has been altered to correspond roughly to a sigma scale, so that vertical distances are approximately comparable.

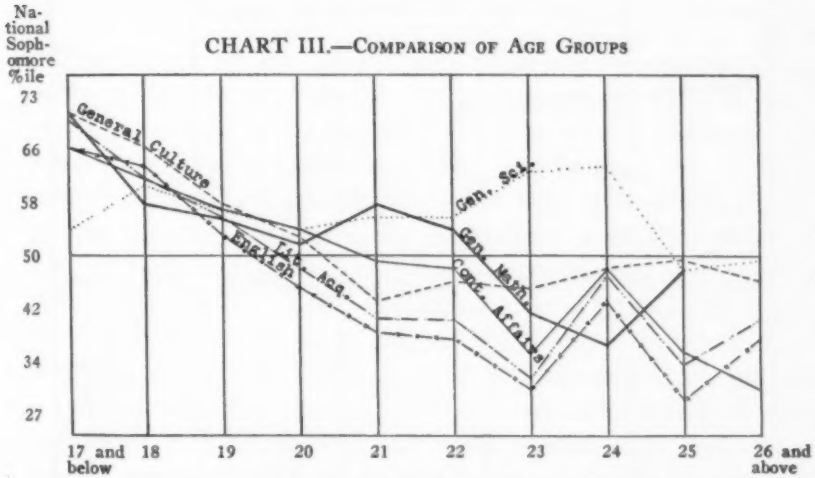
Each bar represents a college class. The wide portion represents the range of scores of the middle half of the students in the designated class. The narrow parts extend to the 16th and 84th percentiles, and the lines at the end extend down to the 10th percentile and up to the 90th percentile. The crosses below the bars represent the lowest scores and those above represent the highest scores in each college class. The short cross line near the middle of each bar indicates the median score of the class.

A similar study was made for a small group of colleges that administered this battery of tests to all their undergraduate classes. Again there is an indication of a real advance, shown graphically in Chart II, so that the average senior shows a more comprehensive mastery than the average

freshman or the average sophomore student. There is still an enlightened minority among entering students, however, which decisively outranks the typical American college senior. What intellectual challenge the liberal arts college will present to these able students remains for each individual institution to determine.

Other partial clues or explanations of the differences that exist among college sophomores were afforded by analyses based on sex, age, and professional goal. Since most of these have been developed rather completely in earlier reports, the present results are chiefly of interest in affording corroboration to the trends revealed there. The women make higher scores as a group on the English, literary acquaintance, fine arts, and foreign literature sections of the general culture test. Men students, on the other hand, are notably superior in science and mathematics and also show quite a decisive advantage in the first section of the contemporary affairs test, dealing with current political and economic developments. Age

CHART III.—Comparison of Age Groups

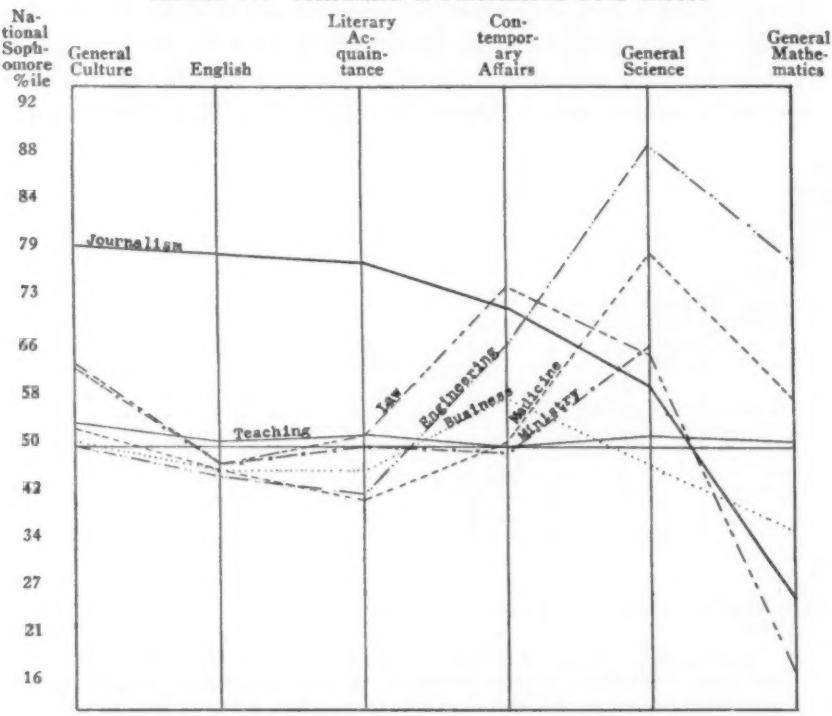


Explanation. Means of chronological age groups of sophomores on indicated variables, graphed in terms of national sophomore percentiles arranged as in Chart I. Since the national distributions show varying degrees of positive and negative skewness, the means as here graphed appear too high for some variables and too low for others. However, it is the direction of the lines, rather than their height on the chart, that is significant here.

again, as shown graphically in Chart III, sustains in general an inverse relation to achievement, a reflection of the more rapid school progress of the gifted individual. In every field except science, the younger student surpasses the older one, indicating that acceleration has not handicapped the bright youngster and that the place to look for genuine intellectual maturity is usually among the younger members of a college class.

A more functional basis of classification is set forth in Chart IV where the achievement of students is graphed according to the professional goals they avowed. Significant differences exist with respect both to the general level at which these groups achieve and to the specific direction of their abilities. Taken as a whole, the medicine and engineering

CHART IV.—COMPARISON OF PROFESSIONAL GOAL GROUPS



Explanation. Graphs of means on indicated tests of college sophomores who reported their professional goals. The averages are graphed in terms of national college percentiles arranged as in Chart I.

aspirants are relatively superior in science and mathematics, while prospective journalists hold first rank on the English, literary acquaintance, and general culture tests. The consistency of these results from year to year establishes confidence in the trends, even though the present populations are limited. Whether the curriculum and vocational patterns reflected here sustain a causal or resultant relation to interests, the data show that choice to some degree harmonizes with ability differences and the known requirements of certain professions. What is not evident from this chart, however, is that within each of these professional goal groups there is the widest kind of variability, with many students showing individual patterns of achievement which are completely at variance with the demands of the vocation toward which they are apparently heading. Here again is a problem that the individual college, which can know its students most intimately, must study for the local situation, aided by whatever additional data may be obtained concerning their aptitudes and attainments.

Rediscovering the Individual

The foregoing data would seem to have at least two major implications for the college teacher or administrator who is concerned with the problem of the relevancy of educational offerings to individual needs. The first is that since almost every college draws students from widely different levels of ability, a systematic effort must be made to assess the potentialities of each student and to provide opportunities suited to his particular needs. This will mean that vague equalitarian formulas that have been designed for entire classes will be abandoned for a decisive policy of furnishing to each student a suitable *milieu* in which he is stimulated to achieve at a level consonant with his ability. Such early identification and appropriate treatment will be especially significant in the case of the gifted student, for the intellectual leadership of tomorrow must come from the talent resources that reside today in even the smallest and least recognized institution.

In the second place, the specific strengths and weaknesses

of each student merit study. Whether he ranks high or low with respect to other individuals, he should be encouraged to initiate and participate in those types of educational experiences that hold largest promise of growth for him. As the concept of individual differences has gradually won recognition, until today there is not only a widespread acceptance of the fact of variation but also a systematic search for ways of making socially useful employment of such knowledge, there must also come a clear appreciation of the importance of idiosyncrasy, or trait differences within an individual. And this will involve a willingness to accept patterns that diverge widely from the average, a broad tolerance for every constructive emergence of individuality. The setting up of a single standard, such as the old Greek ideal of the balanced or symmetrically developed individual, may make for greater mental complacency, but educational realism must admit the existence of an infinite variety of mental patterns and make appropriate provisions for them. Only by a scheme of education in which every teacher is committed to the high and difficult task of discovering and preserving uniqueness, will the ideal of a democracy as a mode of associated living in which the "fulfillment of diversity maximizes the richness of social effort"[3] be realized.

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[3] Harold Laski, *The Grammar of Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929), p. 105.

The Council at Work

THE Council at Work is a brief summary of the outstanding new projects in which the Council is interested, as well as a progress report on undertakings already launched. It is hoped that this survey will give to the members of the Council and those interested in its work a more intimate view of the Council's development. Individuals desiring further information regarding subjects mentioned in this section are invited to write to the offices of the American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

The Committee on Problems and Plans in Education met in Washington, D. C., on October 14-15, 1937. The second day of the meeting was devoted to an informal conference with members of the executive committee and staff workers of the President's Advisory Committee on Education, which is under the direction of Floyd W. Reeves.

The regular autumn meeting of the Council's Executive Committee was held in Washington, D. C., on October 27. The membership applications of the following ten institutions were accepted:

Colby College, Waterville, Maine
Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania
Ethical Culture Schools, New York City
Georgetown Preparatory School, Garrett Park, Maryland
Georgia School of Technology, Atlanta, Georgia
Lynchburg College, Lynchburg, Virginia
Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pennsylvania
Park College, Parkville, Missouri
Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania
Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Massachusetts

C. S. Marsh, vice president of the Council, reported the membership on that date as: constituent, 30; associate, 28; institutional, 348; total, 406.

George F. Zook, president of the Council, reported the receipt of $1,500 from the Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation for the publication of the report of the Committee on the Relation of Emotion to the Educative Process. This volume, *Emotion and the Educative Process,* by D. A. Prescott, will be ready for distribution in January 1938.

Grants to the Council

In December 1937 President Zook announced the receipt of the following grants from the General Education Board:

$200,000 for the support during a five-year period of a study of teacher education. This grant developed out of the exploratory work of the subcommittee of the Problems and Plans Committee under the chairmanship of Payson Smith, Harvard University. A number of national organizations interested in teacher education have cooperated with the Council in the formation of the project.

$135,000 for the three-year support of a program on the educational uses of motion pictures. This will be administered by the Committee on Motion Pictures in Education under the chairmanship of Ben G. Graham, Pittsburgh Public Schools. For further information on the development of the project, see the article by Charles F. Hoban, Jr., associate in motion picture education, in this issue of The Educational Record.

$98,500 for the support during two years of a study of the racial factors in the personality of Negro youth. This will be under the supervision of the American Youth Commission.

$11,500 for use by the American Youth Commission in summarizing and publishing existing information concerning the problems of Negro youth.

Joint Conference on Teacher Education

President Zook will act as chairman of a Joint Conference on Teacher Education in Atlantic City on February 26, 1938. The conference, which will meet at two o'clock in the Vernon Room of Haddon Hall, will be held in conjunction with the

sessions of the American Association of School Administrators. The following organizations are cooperating:

American Association of Teachers Colleges.
American Council on Education.
Municipal Teachers College Association.
National Association of Colleges and Departments of Education.
National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification.
National Society of College Teachers of Education.
Supervisors of Student Teaching.

Among the speakers who have accepted places on the program are: A. J. Stoddard, superintendent of schools, Denver, Colorado; Mrs. Henry Grattan Doyle, president, Board of Education, District of Columbia; Merrill Denison, critic and author, of New York City; Henry W. Holmes, dean, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University; and Frank S. Baker, president, Milwaukee State Teachers College.

Committee on Student Personnel Work

The newly appointed Committee on Student Personnel Work held its first meeting in New York City on December 16-17, 1937. The following persons have accepted membership on this committee:

R. A. Kent, University of Louisville, *chairman*
A. J. Brumbaugh, University of Chicago
W. H. Cowley, Ohio State University
H. E. Hawkes, Columbia University
Edwin A. Lee, National Occupational Conference
Esther Lloyd-Jones, Teachers College, Columbia University
Mildred McAfee, Wellesley College
J. E. Walters, Purdue University
E. C. Williamson, University of Minnesota

Donald J. Shank, assistant to the President of the Council, has been elected as secretary. The committee is planning a series of introductory bulletins dealing with various aspects of student personnel activities. It is also studying the desirability of repeating the Hopkins' survey of student personnel

work which was undertaken in 1926 and which has profoundly influenced the development of this field.

On January 8, 1938 the new committee is jointly sponsoring with E. C. Elliott's subcommittee on Occupational Training and Vocational Adjustment a conference of industrial personnel leaders. Twenty personnel experts from business and industry will meet to consider those personal and technical qualities of college graduates regarded as essential by industry.

Educational Broadcasting

Approximately 500 persons attended the Second National Conference on Educational Broadcasting in Chicago on November 29-30 and December 1, 1937. President Zook acted as chairman of the conference, while Vice President Marsh, as executive secretary, was responsible for the planning of the sessions. Carl H. Milam of the American Library Association acted as chairman of the committee on local arrangements.

Speakers included William S. Paley, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System; H. W. Chase, chancellor of New York University; T. V. Smith, University of Chicago Round Table; John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education; C. A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin; and many others. The proceedings of the conference will be published by the University of Chicago Press to whom orders should be sent.

The representatives of the sponsoring organizations met following the conference and re-elected President Zook as chairman. At the same time they voted to hold a third conference and authorized the chairman to appoint a committee to consider future plans for this meeting.

Sixth Educational Conference

The largest number of persons at any of this series of meetings registered for the Sixth Educational Conference in New York on October 28-29, 1937. More than a thousand individuals attended the sessions. The conference is jointly

sponsored by the Committee on Measurement and Guidance and the Cooperative Test Service of the American Council on Education, the Commission on the Relation of School and College of the Progressive Education Association, and the Educational Records Bureau. Ben D. Wood, director of the Cooperative Test Service, acted as executive secretary. The proceedings of the Sixth Educational Conference have been published as Supplement No. 11 of THE EDUCATIONAL RECORD.

On October 30, the day after the Sixth Educational Conference, the Committee on Measurement and Guidance sponsored a meeting of a number of representatives of national, state, and regional testing programs to discuss the coordination of their work. Dean H. E. Hawkes and President Zook presided. The individuals outlined a program of cooperation on common problems and recommended that the Council call together a similar group each year. The following persons attended:

F. F. Bradshaw, North Carolina
J. R. Crawford, Maine
F. P. Frutchey, Progressive Education Association
M. C. Gallagher, Montana
J. A. Gerberich, Connecticut
O. T. Gooden, Arkansas
V. A. C. Henmon, Wisconsin
J. G. Kelly, South Carolina
E. F. Lindquist, Iowa
H. T. Manuel, Texas
W. C. McCall, South Carolina
J. V. McQuitty, Florida
H. H. Remmers, Indiana
O. M. Smith, Oklahoma, and Chemistry Testing Program
J. M. Stalnaker, College Entrance Examination Board
H. A. Toops, Ohio
A. E. Traxler, Educational Records Bureau
Mrs. Eleanor Perry Wood, Educational Records Bureau
E. R. Wood, vice, Ohio State Department of Education
Lloyd S. Woodburne, Michigan

American Youth Commission

Newton D. Baker, who had served as chairman of the American Youth Commission since its beginning, was forced to resign because of ill health. Mr. Baker died on December 25, 1937. His successor has not yet been named. President Zook has been elected chairman of the Commission's executive committee which includes Henry I. Harriman, William F. Russell, and Owen D. Young.

The Commission has recently announced the publication of a new volume prepared by its staff, *How Fare American Youth?* The book covers the major areas in which the Commission has been working. Copies can be obtained from D. Appleton-Century Company or the Council at $1.50 each.

Twenty-First Annual Meeting

President Zook has announced tentative plans for the twenty-first annual meeting of the American Council on Education which will be held in Washington on May 6 and 7, 1938. All sessions this year will meet at the Mayflower Hotel. The following persons have already accepted places on the program: Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Robert M. Hutchins, Alan Valentine, O. C. Carmichael, and Edward C. Elliott.

History and Activities

The new edition of the annual publication, *The American Council on Education: History and Activities,* is now being widely distributed. This document presents a comprehensive view of the projects and committees which are at work under the Council's supervision. It includes a directory of members and a complete list of publications. This year a briefer document, *To Inform You about the American Council on Education,* has been prepared for use by member associations and institutions. This outlines the organization of the Council. Copies of both documents can be obtained by writing to the Council.

Conferences and Meetings

The Council has been represented by its administrative officers at the following meetings since October 1937:

American Association of School Administrators, 1938 Yearbook Commission, Asheville, North Carolina

Association of American Universities, Providence, Rhode Island

Association of Land Grant Colleges, Washington, D. C.

National Association of State Universities, Washington, D. C.

National Committee on Education by Radio, New York City

President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education, Washington, D. C.

Second National Conference on Educational Broadcasting, Chicago, Illinois

Sixth Educational Conference, New York City.